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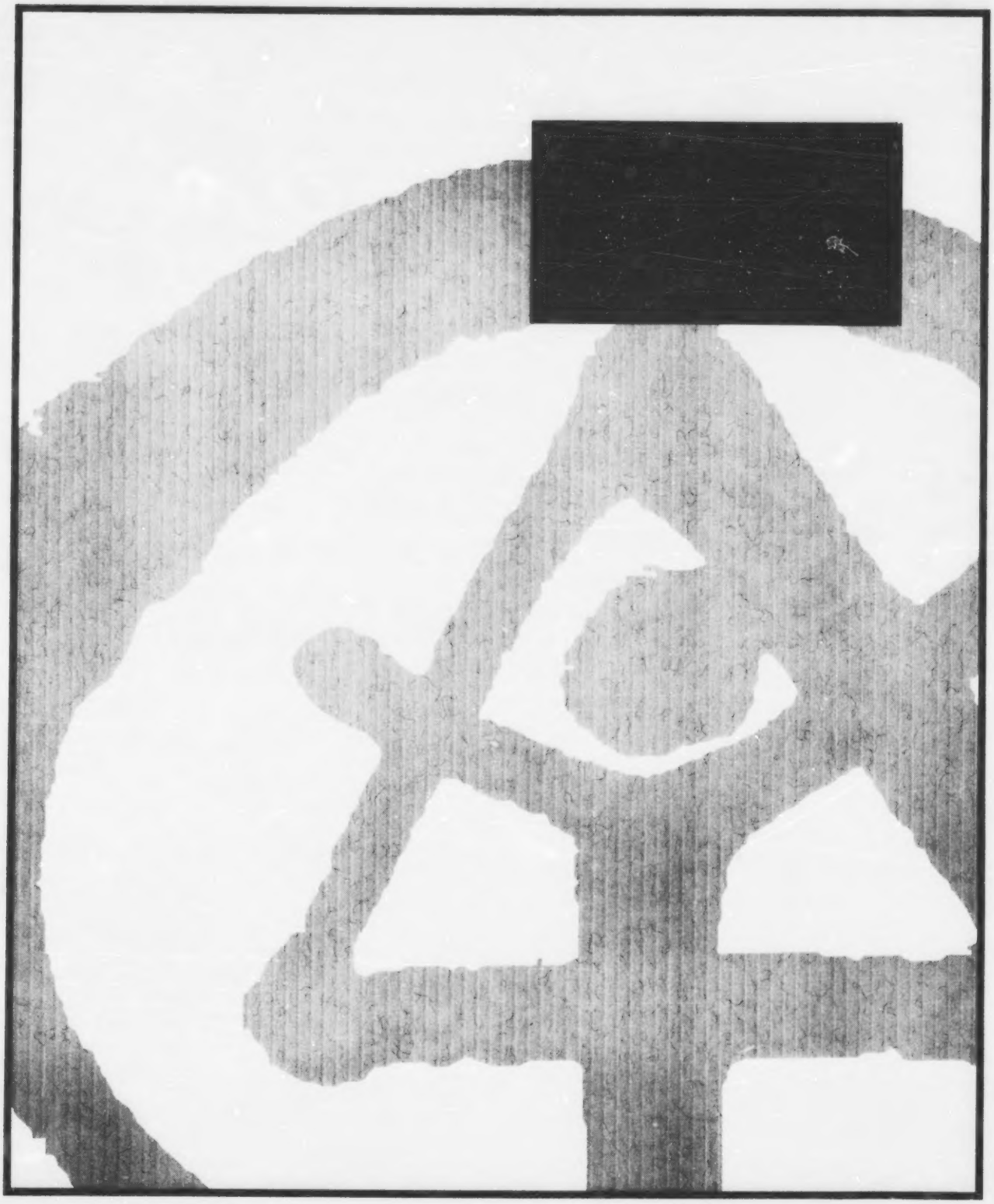

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GOVERNANCE AND DESIGN: Participatory Planning, Residential Design Guidelines and Historic Preservation in Quanzhou, Fujian, China

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A Year 2000 SCARP Field Studio Report

Centre for Human Settlements
School of Community and Regional Planning
The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

GOVERNANCE AND DESIGN: PARTICIPATORY PLANNING, RESIDENTIAL DESIGN GUIDELINES AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN QUANZHOU, FUJIAN, CHINA

A YEAR 2000 FIELD STUDIO REPORT
from the UBC School of Community and Regional Planning

by

Daniel Abramson and Michael Leaf, Instructors of UBC course Plan 545B, Summer 2000, and their students, who were: Samantha Anderson, Danny Chan, Alexander Chang, Savina Praseuth, and Hanley Tsang

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1. INTRODUCTION – GENESIS OF A PARTICIPATORY PLANNING PROCESS IN QUANZHOU

This article describes how Canadian and Chinese architecture students participated in a studio during summer 2000 in the city of Quanzhou, China, and how, through different modes of architectural and urban inquiry and design, they were able to contribute significantly to an effort by that city's residents and government to increase community-level participation in urban management and development. The studio was only the most recent activity in a long-standing collaborative relationship between architecture and urban planning students and faculty of the University of British Columbia and McGill University in Canada; counterparts at Tsinghua University in Beijing; and the municipal planning authorities of Quanzhou, Fujian Province. The evolution of these activities is as interesting as the activities themselves, because in many ways it reflects the dramatic changes that have occurred in China during the past two decades, and in that country's relations with the West. So the story of the studio is not only about how design mediated an exchange between government and neighborhood, but also about the role it played in an on-going international academic exchange.

The Canadian and Chinese academic partners in this collaboration have been involved in research and practical planning projects in a number of Chinese cities; however in Quanzhou, more than in any other of these cities, a booming private economy has forced the government to focus on the "traditional" urban planning role of defending public goods. In 1993, faculty in the School of Architecture at Tsinghua University in Beijing began to take commissions from both district and municipal level governments in Quanzhou to plan for the redevelopment of a number of neighborhoods in the Old City, including those with the most important historic monuments and streets of vernacular housing (Tao 1995, Sun 1996). In 1994, the University of British Columbia's Centre for Human Settlements (CHS) led Canadian planning students to Quanzhou to participate in the site survey stage of one of these plans (Leaf et al 1995). The survey included both an inventory of existing housing of various structural conditions and architectural value, and a questionnaire survey of residents, mainly regarding their knowledge and opinions of redevelopment policy. This became the basis for a series of alternative design proposals carried out by Tsinghua students that challenged the government's initial terms of reference. Indeed, to this date, no redevelopment has occurred in this neighborhood.

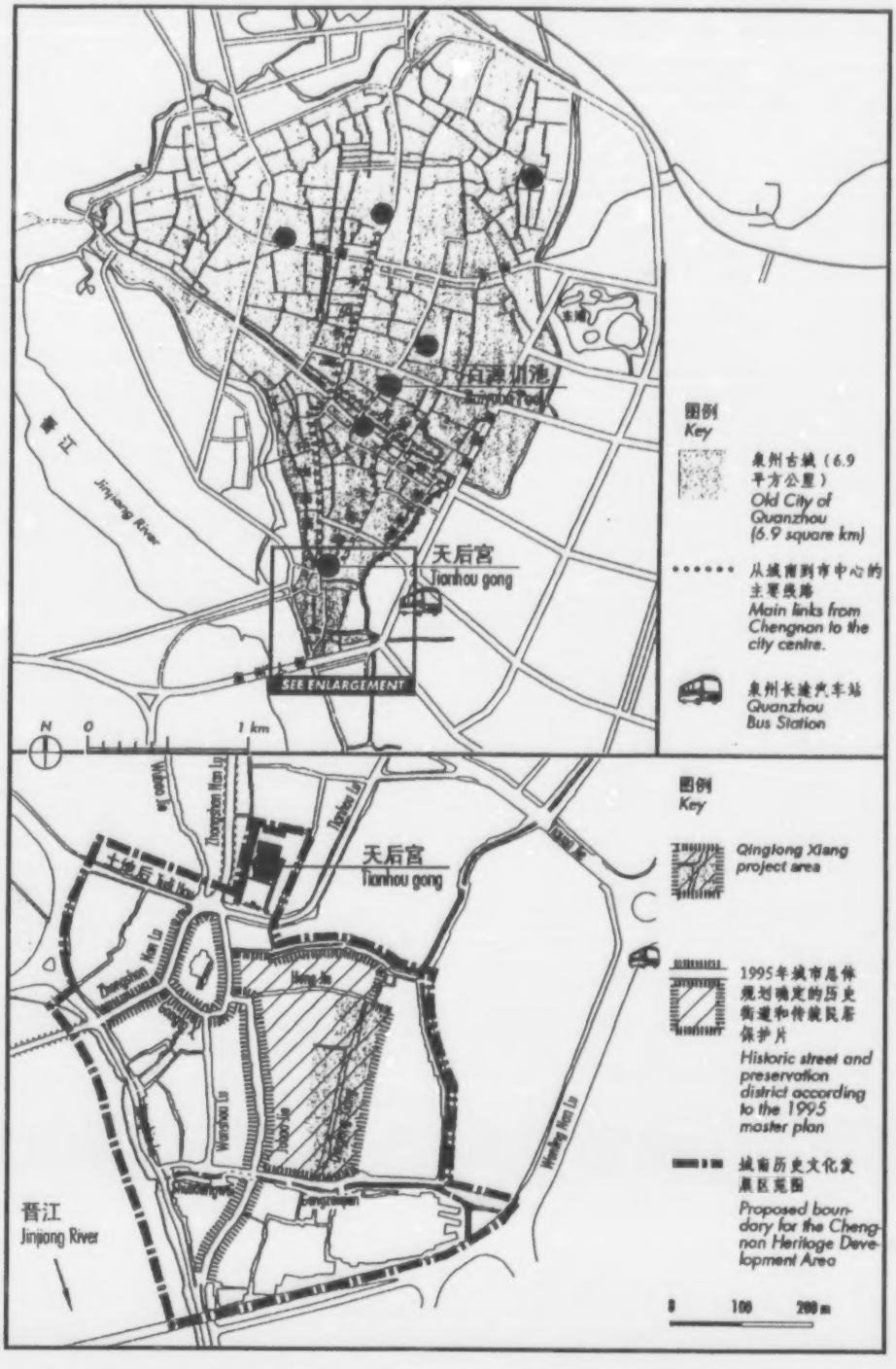
While all of this research and planning work attempted, in greater or lesser degrees, to consider and accommodate existing social or urban-ecological structures, none of it was remotely participatory, and all of it proceeded on the premise that the government would eventually contract with a developer to implement the plans on a conventional "clean sweep" model. Nevertheless, over the next five years, municipal policy in Quanzhou evolved from a standard, hard-driving, pro-development stance to a locally specific, careful, preservationist one. By 1999, the municipal planning authorities had provisionally discarded the "clean sweep" model, and were seeking to understand better the impacts of those large scale projects that had already been implemented, and explore alternative models that might be more feasible in areas that had not yet been redeveloped on such a scale. In the summer of 1999, another group from Canada, now including students from McGill as well as UBC, and in architecture and landscape architecture as well as planning, traveled again to Quanzhou to carry out surveys jointly with Tsinghua (Leaf et al 2000). This time,

rather than laying the groundwork for a specific development project, the group received support from the Quanzhou Planning Bureau to study three areas in the city that either had already undergone formal redevelopment, or were in the midst of an informal development process. This "studio" included no design proposals, but rather combined architectural documentation with social surveys in a series of typological profiles. The profiles linked specific housing types and settlement forms with their respective underlying development processes.

One of the communities surveyed was *Qinglong Xiang* (roughly pronounced "Ching-loong Syahng"), or "Green Dragon Lane," a neighborhood of traditional vernacular architecture designated for protection by municipal policy (but not law), with a population of 679 residents in 207 households on a site of just over 2 hectares in area in the southern part (Chengnan) of Quanzhou's Old City (see Maps 1 and 2). The studio group recognized that Qinglong Xiang posed a particular challenge to municipal planning authorities in their efforts to enforce preservation policy and building regulations. The neighborhood is famed for its fine collection of traditional vernacular housing of characteristic local granite and red brick. Yet over the past decade, household after household demolished its old one-story courtyard house to build a new three-, four- or five-story house of gleaming white glazed tile in a modern style familiar throughout southern China and even across Southeast Asia. The new homes are many times larger than the old, even to the point of containing much unused space. Often they are built on pieces of an extended family plot that has been subdivided between relatives, and replace old courtyards that were shared by many related households. They are also as modern as their builders can make them, including air-conditioning and flush toilets when possible (though no sewer main yet exists in the lane). Moreover, these houses frequently exceeded the three-story height limit established by the government for all private housing within the Old City.

The government's inability to enforce its own regulations derived from a number of circumstances. First, an unusually high rate of private home ownership and the substantial private savings of the residents gave individual households an economic power with which any local government in China would be ill-equipped to deal (for example, there is no property taxation system). Urban management in China is based on *mobilization* of collective action as much as on *regulation* of private action. Design and construction policy in China lacks such tools as tax incentives; sophisticated density measures; guidelines and other information services; and the linking of home mortgages and insurance to clear property title and building code compliance. Indeed, the mortgage and insurance market hardly exists in China outside of the largest cities such as Beijing and Shanghai. Within this policy climate, the Quanzhou planning authorities have little leverage over households that can afford to upgrade their houses but have little regard for the public environment. Their response has been simply to make building regulations more draconian. For example, the most recent municipal ordinance calls for the eventual reduction of all multi-storey individual houses in the Old City down to two stories, and forbids the enlargement of all existing one-story houses.

The main planning issue identified in the 1999 survey at Qinglong Xiang, therefore, was how to reconcile historic conservation policy with resident aspirations for modernization as expressed in the self-building process. This is especially critical given that the self-building tradition itself is an important part of the city's environmental character. The survey concluded that any effective conservation strategy would have to gain the residents' approval, and, more importantly, would need to be implemented primarily by them. An agenda for further research and intervention



Map 1. Locations of Chengnan area within Quanzhou's Old City (top), and of Qinglong Xiang within the Chengnan (bottom). (Based on J. Nilsson, 2000, Figure 42).

Map 2. Housing plots and building footprints in the surveyed area along Qinglong Xiang.

in Qinglong Xiang (and other similar settings) should therefore address such topics as: the more precise definition of historic environmental "character" worthy of conservation; methods of encouraging civic pride in this character and organizing communities to take stewardship over it; and focusing government conservation resources on a few outstanding examples of vernacular architecture or on the public space itself, whose maintenance is beyond the means of the owners.

A key condition for progress on such an agenda would be a strong sense of community in the neighborhood. The survey found Qinglong Xiang to be a typically, or perhaps more-than-typically, stable community in Quanzhou's Old City. The average family has lived in the lane since before 1949, and many lived on plots that had been in their families at least as early as the Ming dynasty. A small temple that doubles as the neighborhood territorial (*pujing*) shrine (Wang 1995) and also a local branch of the renowned Taoist network devoted to *Baosheng Dadi* ("the Great Emperor Who Protects Life")(Dean 1993), is located in the lane and serves as the focus for numerous festival days throughout the year. The association to restore the temple in the early 1990s overlapped in membership with the neighborhood Elders Association (*laonian xiehui*), which in turn was a registered social organization affiliated with the official neighborhood committee.

Following the summer 1999 studio, a Tsinghua-CHS team[1] led by Daniel Abramson and Michael Leaf of UBC and Tan Ying of Tsinghua applied to the Ford Foundation's Beijing Office for support of a proposal to initiate a process of mutual dialogue between residents and the government of Quanzhou in order to achieve the objectives suggested by the survey. The Ford Foundation's Governance and Civil Society Unit supported the proposal, and in December 1999 the Quanzhou Municipal Planning Bureau agreed to make Qinglong Xiang the site of a pilot project.

A participatory project seemed especially feasible in Qinglong Xiang compared with other neighborhoods in the Old City for a number of reasons, some already indicated above: (1) the neighborhood was located in the last historically significant area of the city that had not been the subject of any planning work up to this point, and had so far escaped any impact by large-scale development, and its relative isolation appeared to keep any threat of such development at bay; indeed, the municipal government was preparing to make Qinglong Xiang a model of historic conservation in the Old City; (2) community identity as exhibited by the membership of the Elders Association and survey responses by individual residents not only appeared to be strong, it was also contiguous with both the administrative boundary of the neighborhood committee (i.e. it did not spill over into more than one neighborhood committee's jurisdiction) and also the spatial boundaries of the lane itself as a physical entity; (3) a non-state social organization was already in place, in the form of the temple; finally, (4) the ancestral home of the Director of the Planning Bureau himself was located in the lane, and this circumstance provided a special opportunity to demonstrate the government's commitment to whatever plan would come out of the process.

Despite these advantages, different interests within the community became sharply delineated, and challenged the sense of communal purpose that the project was in part intended to foster. Four very clear interest groups emerged: (1) residents of well-preserved traditional courtyard housing who advocate a strict interpretation of preservation, including partial demolition of illegally high houses that overlooked them; they resent neighbors who abandoned a local building tradition in favor of a modern form of ostentation; (2) residents of dilapidated or crowded old housing who

either intend to rebuild and/or enlarge their houses as much as possible, or seek government subsidy to restore them; they may or may not feel attached to the particular forms of their house, but they resent government preservation policies that prevent them from making their house liveable; (3) residents who recently rebuilt their houses to heights that exceeded legal limits; this group wants the plan to focus on the public facilities of the lane and the preservation/restoration of the remaining old houses, if anything, but adamantly opposes any change to their own houses; (4) residents of the poor-quality and illegal developer-spec-built condominium apartment bloc, who are in turn divided into essentially two sub-groups: (a) those who purchased their units from elsewhere in the city and have no particular attachment to this neighborhood; their main concern is not necessarily to remain living here, but to receive adequate compensation and relocation terms if their building were to be demolished as part of a crackdown on illegal construction in the neighborhood; and (b) those who moved here from nearby and depend on the location for access to school, job or services; they oppose demolition of the building, despite its poor quality, fearing they would have no where else nearby to live.

The process initiated in December identified these distinct interest groups, and proposed to mediate among them and between them and the planning authorities, through the following categories of activity:

(1) workshop-style meetings which, in the following sequence, would: acquaint both residents and planning officials with interactive techniques of discussion; make the existence of conflicting interests an explicit and legitimate topic of discussion; form a "core group" of residents willing to keep the community informed and involved; identify what different interests there are within the community; devise a range of policy options and corresponding trade-offs to respond to each interest; arrive at an action plan;

(2) a parallel program of conventional survey research designed to understand the context of the neighborhood, including: interviews with policy makers in various branches and levels of the government, from the municipality down through the district and sub-district to the neighborhood committee; surveys of temple associations and other community organizations; surveys of commercial and investment activity in the larger area of the Old City of which Qinglong Xiang is a part (this area, the *Cheng Nan* ("South City"), contains many other historic sites and structures, and at the same time is one of the most economically depressed corners of the Old City; the municipal government is interested in determining its potential for a combined heritage preservation and economic revitalization project);

(3) a series of technical and design-oriented activities to further clarify various interests and their associated trade-offs, including: a *Planning for Real*-like community modeling exercise in which residents would identify problems and opportunities for action by placing cards on a model of the neighborhood; a private housing "design clinic" in which students would work with volunteer households to seek common ground between residents' self-building intentions and government regulations; a public space "envisioning" exercise in which different degrees of change and intervention as proposed by students, planning authorities and residents were illustrated in photo-edited images of the lane; a set of design guidelines to make explicit the relationship between specific design requirements and the principles underlying them; a technical study of upgrading options that the Planning Bureau has commissioned one member of the Tsinghua-CHS team to prepare as a parallel product that informs and is informed by the participatory process as a whole;

(4) publicity, including: close coordination of project activities with festivals, and general close contact with television and newspaper media;
(5) institutionalization of the process through: the establishment of a new non-governmental community organization responsible for representing the community on issues of urban environmental regulation and upgrading; a charter between the organization and the government agreeing to implement the action plan; and administrative reforms within the planning authority that would enable on-going use of the process in the project community and in other neighborhoods in Quanzhou.

[1] The team ultimately was composed of the principal faculty, and student assistants including Johan Nilsson, Feng Tiehong, Li Bing, Li Li, Su Teng, Wang Ping and Zou Tao from Tsinghua; Yang Jie from the Beijing Language and Culture University; Wang Ge, Samantha Anderson, Danny Chan, Alex Chang and Savina Praseuth from UBC; Johnnie Kuo, Karen Wan and Hanley Tsang from McGill University; and Zhuang Zhixi of South China University of Technology.

2. THE SUMMER 2000 STUDIO — PARTICIPATORY HOUSING AND URBAN DESIGN

The Summer 2000 studio which is the main subject of this report focused on carrying out design-oriented activities in Qinglong Xiang as specified in the third category of activities listed above, and initiating survey research in the Cheng Nan area, as specified in the second category. The collaborative group included one Tsinghua doctoral planning student, six Tsinghua undergraduate housing design students, one UBC master of planning student, four UBC master of architecture students, and one McGill undergraduate architecture student. The group was also joined for part of the time by a graduate of the masters in planning program at South China University of Technology in Guangzhou. Since most of the students participating in the 2000 studio were new to Quanzhou, some of their activities repeated those of the 1999 group, but, on the whole, they took the UBC-Tsinghua-Quanzhou collaboration into uncharted territory. They went beyond the physical and household surveys of previous years, to gather data on commercial activities and rent markets, to produce architectural and urban design propositions and visions, and to use design to aid the participatory process.

The Summer 2000 studio design group undertook three exercises over the course of three weeks (see Appendix I for summary chronology): (1) a survey of public space and housing typology similar to what was undertaken in 1999, but with a greater focus on household decisions regarding the choices they had made in purchasing, rebuilding or planning to rebuild their houses; (2) a "design clinic," or "visioning" exercise in which teams of two students each (in most cases, one Canadian and one Chinese) either produced Photoshop-treated images of the public space of the lane, showing the various impacts of alternative plans, or worked with one or two resident households to explore how their housing might be improved and modernized while also complying with the requirements of heritage conservation and environmental "neighborliness;" and finally produced (3) a set of design guidelines that broke down the overall vernacular style of the neighborhood into a vocabulary of discrete elements, proposed a range of preferred designs for each element, and made explicit the principles underlying this preference.

2.1. Typological Survey

The first of these activities, the typological survey, served to help the students develop a sense of what precisely was architecturally "characteristic" about Quanzhou's old neighborhoods and how extensively this character had survived in Qinglong Xiang. Since preservation of the old city's architectural character is the municipal government's prime concern in making Qinglong Xiang a priority for planning, a definition of "character" seemed an essential first step. The survey also served generally to shed new light on the informal self-building process, and particularly to delineate the range of motivations behind residents' self-building decisions. Based on the previous year's survey and an anticipated range of possible policies, the students studied five basic types of housing: well-maintained traditional Ming and Qing dynasty one-story courtyard houses; poor quality and dilapidated courtyard houses; early twentieth-century two- or three-story villa-type houses that were influenced by exposure to European colonial architecture in Southeast Asia; more recent multi-story single-family houses; and one seven-story mid-1990s condominium apartment building. A sixth pair of students conducted public space surveys, including street sections and view analyses.

Individual Residences

The typological survey of individual housing in Qinglong Xiang covered 22 houses (see Appendix II, Table 1). In depth interviews were conducted, and layouts and architectural details were documented. The survey is fairly representative of the lane although participants were mainly self-selecting, with members and relatives of the Participatory Planning Project Resident's Committee strongly represented. The three tables show summary statistics for the individual houses surveyed.

Table 1. Number of Houses by Type

Traditional Courtyard, good condition	3
Dilapidated Courtyard	2
Overseas Chinese Mansion	1
New	9
Mixed- New & Overseas Chinese Mansion	2
Mixed- New & Traditional Courtyard	4

Table 2. Number of Houses by Height (Storeys)

One	6
Two	3
Three	3
Three and a half	5
Four	2
Five	1
One & Two	2

Table 3. Other Housing Information

	Range	**Average**
Construction Period	1800's-1995	Early 1900's + 1990's
Total Floor Area	$65m^2$-$470m^2$	$174m^2$
Floor Area Ratio	1.64-3.64	2.52
Construction Cost (only for new)	30,000-200,000 yuan (building costs only)	115,222 yuan (excluding financing, land, fines, taxes)
Floor Area Construction Cost	220-2,070 yuan/m2 (building costs only)	721.25 yuan/m2 (also excludes further renovation on one house)
Residents	3-22 (majority of households: 5)	5.6 (4.7 excluding household of 22)
Floor Area per person (regular residents)	25-94 m2/person	43.89 m2/person

In fact, the survey sample left out some of the smallest households whom the team had a chance to interview only after finishing the tabulation summarized above, often because they are most frequently absent. They include renters, "floating population" and other "irregular" residents whose registered or most frequented address may be elsewhere. If these smaller households are added to the summary, then the range of household total floor area might begin at 12-15 square meters, and the floor area per person might begin at around 8 square meters, which approaches the level of crowding typical in old neighborhoods in large metropolises like Beijing. In other words, the neighborhood is characterized by an extreme diversity of housing conditions. A common theme among nearly all households, however, is the continued influence on living arrangements by family members or relatives who live elsewhere, often in other countries. This influence is exercised by shared ownership, shared investment in housing improvements or maintenance, occasional visits, and/or by the wish to maintain a foothold in the Old City or on an ancestral plot even as one seeks more spacious and modern housing in newly-developed districts.

Architecturally, one of the most important lessons that emerged was that although there are clearly one or two classic types of vernacular house, historically they make up only part of a long and continuous tradition of self-building that is still thriving, though under different technological conditions. The classic vernacular, which the government and cultural authorities of Quanzhou are trying hardest to preserve, is formed essentially by only the traditional courtyard housing type and the *Nanyang*, or "South Seas" villa type. In fact, there are many examples of hybrids between these two types, so that sometimes villas rise up in the rear of a courtyard house, or a courtyard is inserted into the middle of a multi-story villa. Even the more recent multi-story buildings, up until the 1990s, often used traditional, richly worked materials: "swallowtail" pattern-fired red and black bricks, white granite, polished and engraved marble, terracotta roof tiles and floor tiles, and glazed ceramic ornamental balusters and waterspouts.

Since about 1990, however, some very clear trends have emerged in housing construction. One and two-story houses have been replaced by three-, four- and even five-story ones; courtyards and other private open spaces (and the trees that grew in them) have gradually disappeared; wood and stone structures have been replaced by reinforced concrete; ceramic, stone or wood grilled windows have been replaced by aluminum; pitched roofs replaced by flat ones; thick brick and stone finishes replaced by thin glazed facing tile. The rapid increase in building density (total floor space in the Qinglong Xiang neighborhood has doubled since 1983) is due to decades of pent up population growth in the Old City. The change in building materials is the result first of widespread availability of mechanized tractor transport in the 1970s, which allowed wood columns and beams to be replaced by stone and then concrete, and then in the 1980s a booming regional export-oriented industry in architectural ceramics, which flooded the local market with cheap, mostly white tiles.

Beyond these economic factors, there is unmistakably a cultural dimension in the architectural transformation of Qinglong Xiang. Just as Quanzhou builders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century scorned traditional courtyard houses as backward and feudal, and emulated the European colonial styles of Southeast Asia as models of modernity, so now in the current period of Reform and Opening, local residents view brick and stone with similar disdain and seek to replace them with the tinted plate glass, shiny stainless steel and other refined industrial products of this age, even when such materials are not the least expensive or most practical. Even the size of houses is not always a response to crowding. There are

many large houses that have whole floors that are uninhabited. Residents of Quanzhou, like rural villagers throughout China since 1980, have sunk savings into their houses as a form of investment, and as a strategy to pre-empt the effects of radical, arbitrary swings of government policy.

There is also a relentless trend of ever-smaller subdivision of land owned within families, and the consequent pressure to build upwards on these smaller plots. Given the historically predominant one-story courtyard housing type, once residents began to build multi-storey houses a vicious cycle was set in motion, whereby residents whose neighbors have just built higher will decide to rebuild their own houses so as not to be overlooked. Residents who are left with minuscule portions of land after a family subdivision (a traditional response to sharing a scarce resource) naturally resent municipal attempts to impose a blanket height limit on all individual houses regardless of the impact on per capita living space. Residents view height limits as being absurdly arbitrary, partly because they do not take into account traditional family-based approaches to land and housing disposition. Municipal planning authorities, on the other hand, would like to see residents abandon their claims to a piece of ancestral plot, if that means they would be left only with an "irrational" sliver of land on which to build. However, as long as land and housing prices remain high throughout the metropolitan region, residents will seek to build on their existing property simply to save money. New apartments outside the Old City generally cost upwards of 2,000 yuan per square meter to purchase, whereas renovations or rebuilding one's own house in Qinglong Xiang costs on average less than 800 yuan per square meter.

Feida Apartments

Feida Apartments stand out in Qinglong Xiang as the only developer-built commercial housing in the area. It is a seven-storey, 48-unit, white tile strata building that impacts negatively on the aesthetics of the street. The building was constructed illegally on a piece of land that used to have a fruit warehouse on it. Because it was illegally constructed, the Feida residents do not have legal property rights to their condominiums. The developer has now disappeared and the Neighborhood Committee has already had to undertake repair and clean-up work on the site. Many of the residents of the single-family dwellings of Qinglong Xiang complain that the building has negatively affected the *fengshui*[1] of the street, and generally consider the residents of Feida as outsiders. In fact, most of the Feida residents are from the Cheng Nan area, and work and go to school in the area. The Feida residents complain that the Qinglong Xiang residents throw garbage into the courtyard and are disrespectful. The Planning Bureau announced in August that it intends to demolish the building as soon as compensation can be found for the residents. Some of the residents are strongly opposed to moving, but most would be willing to move if compensation were adequate. Most residents do not feel as though they have any say it the matter: it will be decided by the government. Many residents express concern that they will only be compensated for the price of the apartment and not for any money invested in fit-out. A few residents, especially in the badly situated back stairwells would be happy to see the building torn down.

[1] Literally, "wind and water," this term refers to a popular Chinese belief-system in which the spatial disposition of architectural and landscape elements brings varying degrees of good or bad fortune to the local inhabitants.

Table 4. Survey of Feida Apartment Dwellers

	Total Units Interviewed	Units Owned*	Units Rented*	Prefer Not to Move	From Outside Quanzhou	Complaints re Condition of Apartments
01-02	9	8#	2##	2	1	0
03-04	8	6	2	0**	1 from suburbs	3
05-06	8	7	1	5	0	1 +
07-08	5	7#	0	2	1	1
Total	30	28	5	9	3	5

*information also provided by neighbors if residents absent
** older women in household would prefer not to leave in spite of numerous complaints about their flats; owners unopposed or enthusiastic about leaving
+ does not want to leave in spite of complaints
#one unit danwei (work-unit) housing, i.e. the housing belongs to the resident's work unit, not to him personally
##one unit rented by a company as office space

Public Space

Public spaces in Qinglong Xiang include: the temple (#40), the senior activity center (#30), the government-owned housing (#73, #75, #55 to #71), and the street surface. Also, one private courtyard house (#32), is frequently used informally by the Qinglong Xiang Elders Association, and occasionally by the Neighborhood Committee and the local police patrol. It is fitted with a loud-speaker for public announcements. It was in this house that community gatherings and core group meetings were held during the studio, and throughout the participatory planning project. In addition to the above, other public facilities around the neighborhood but not actually under Qinglong Xiang District Committee jurisdiction include a preschool, an elementary school, a middle to high school, and a hospital clinic that practices traditional Chinese medicine.

The negative reaction that many residents of Qinglong Xiang expressed towards the bulky Feida Apartments building reveals a great deal about general attitudes towards public space. To begin with, the complaint that the apartment building destroys the neighborhood's *fengshui* reflects continuity in traditional culture that is paralleled by the strong family ties at the household level, and the popularity of the temple and its festivals among the entire community. Indeed, the temple is the most prominent public structure in the lane. The traditional nature of public life and space in Qinglong Xiang is not, however, necessarily an indication of greater communitarian spirit among the residents than one would find in a larger, more "culturally-revolutionized" city like Beijing, Shanghai or Guangzhou. Antipathy towards the apartment building, like prayer to the gods, seems to be primarily the response of individual households or household members who are protecting or seeking to enhance their fortune. There was a general recognition that public facilities in the lane could be better, and that the public environment generally has deteriorated over the past decade, but few residents would sacrifice a future opportunity to expand their own homes in order to guarantee the quality of the public environment.

Below are specific findings regarding each of the public facilities found in the lane.

Senior Activity Center

To be considered as a senior, a female must be over the age of 50 and a male over the age of 55. There are more than 370 seniors in the Xi Bin District in total, and more than 110 seniors at Qinglong Xiang.

The center is located on lot #37. The building was rebuilt in 1963 and used as a beer factory. Now the building is rented for 2000 yuan/month by the local district committee as a senior activity center and a local resident has been hired to take care of the center. It has only been used as such for 5 months. The building is 600 to 700 m^2 in area.

The municipal government provides financial assistance to all of the districts for cultural and community activities. More active districts will often receive more money. The Senior Activity Association in Qinglong Xiang is recognized as being one of the most active in the city. Its centre is also the physically largest in the city.

The District Committee would like the lot to be purchased by the municipal government and be utilized as a senior center as well as a self-sustaining parking lot for the residents (paid parking). The lot itself is presently owned by two overseas Chinese (from Taiwan and the Philippines) who want to sell this property for 1,200,000 yuan.

The Senior Center is visited daily by local and neighborhood residents. At any one time, thirty to fifty seniors will be there for mahjong and socializing.

Annually, the Municipal Government provides financial assistance for two excursions (spring and fall) around Quanzhou for the seniors. Roughly 60-70 seniors participate, each paying 40% of the fare with the remaining 60% subsidized by the government.

The Senior Center offers no other facilities besides a place for congregation and parking spaces for bicycles and small vehicles. There is only an outhouse with a bucket. There is a tiny kitchenette at the back of the house with a sink basin, a portable stove, and a dresser that is being used as a dish cabinet. With the exception of the central core, which serves the main activity area, all the other rooms within the house are either empty or used as storage space. There is a loft that faces the back of the house but no stairs leading up to the loft (i.e. a ladder is needed). What used to be a skylight is now a white sheet of plastic that the seniors have nailed to the roof ceiling to prevent sunlight from penetrating through. Ten mahjong tables and forty chairs dominate the entire core of the center. The only modern amenities are the electrical switches that turn on the florescent lights and the floating ceiling fans. The grounds at the back of the center are not well kept. The front yard is graveled and is used only as a temporary parking space for the drop-in seniors.

Government Housing (Lot #55-#71, #73, #75)

The land on which this housing sits once belonged to an overseas Chinese. During the late 1950's the government of the Department of Land Property took over the land and built government housing. The monthly rent per square meter of space is about 3 yuan. The quality of housing is poor, and residents have paid for roof repair themselves. The units are also very small and there are no bathroom facilities. Many residents if they can afford it are considering moving elsewhere. Several of the residents are seniors, who live alone while their children live in the center of the city. Lot #75 is shared by three families while lot #73 is shared by a family of three.

Commercial Activity

There are two small corner stores along Qinglong Xiang and other small businesses within the neighborhood. There is also a vegetable market along the Ba Gua Gou at the south end of the entrance to Qinglong Xiang that serves the local residents and the surrounding neighborhood. The market is quite active and runs early in the morning until late in the evening. Along the streets that runs off Qinglong Xiang are shops that offer services and supports to the local residents (restaurants, sewing, automobiles, etc.).

Infrastructure

Issues:

There are not enough parking spaces in the neighborhood. Most residents park their cars outside of Qinglong Xiang and walk home.

Street cleaning is the responsibility of the District Committee which pays 650 yuan a month to the garbage collector (3 times a day).

Electrical Lines:

Prior to the mid 1990's, electrical lines sprawled and dominated the streetscape of Qinglong Xiang. In 1995 they were consolidated into the present condition.

The District Committee pays roughly 100 to 200 yuan per month for the street electrical bill and maintenance of public electric lighting within the district.

At present, the District Committee is considering running the electrical and telephone lines underground as the electrical posts are disruptive to the streetscape.

Fire Trucks and Fire Hydrants:

The Fire Safety Department is concerned about access to Qinglong Xiang as the size of the fire truck was too large to get into the lane. In addition, the size and mass of the truck may damage the road surface, costing the district more money for repairs. At present, there are no existing fire hydrants or any form of fire hazard prevention equipment in Qinglong Xiang. As well, the public street outside of Qinglong Xiang is heavy with traffic, thus making parking difficult for emergency vehicles. In addition, access at the south entrance may be problematic for larger vehicles due to the narrow entrance and the clusters of wires and telephone poles nearing the gate. A proposal has been made to downscale the size of the fire truck. This would be more suitable for narrow streets such as Qinglong Xiang.

Sewage and Hydro:

Sewage is a problem in Qinglong Xiang as there is not the infrastructure to support all of its residents. The District Committee wants to implement a larger sewage pipeline to run underground along the street length of Qinglong Xiang. The proposal is that the Municipal Government pays for the main sewage pipe and the residents pay for the connecting pipelines to their houses.

Street and Alley Ways:

The main street of Qinglong Xiang is quite narrow at the north end and the alleys off the street are even narrower. The street level is higher than some of the residential properties. During heavy rains, the water from the street overflows into the house. In addition, the close proximity of the buildings and the extended balconies are problematic with respect to ventilation, lighting, and future identified traffic circulation.

There is a lack of street furniture and sheltered space for resting.

Environment/Green Space

The District Committee is responsible for greenery upkeep and has spent 20,000 yuan for the greenery along Ba Gua Gou and Qinglong Xiang. There is not enough greenery or open space to support the residents of Qinglong Xiang and its surrounding neighborhood blocks. Because of the narrowness of the street, the species of trees/ shrubbery planted need to be sensitive to the built environmentand not obstruct the walls of the houses and street vehicles.

The Temple/Religious Activities

Quanzhou has a somewhat unusual configuration of temple networks in the Fujian context in that Quanzhou used to be subdivided into territorial units known as *pu* and *jing* (jing being subdivisions of *pu*), with temples at both the *pu* and the *jing* level. The Qinglong Gong (Qinglong Temple) is the temple of the Xinxi Pujing. The *pu* were then grouped into 2 "Buddhas" or *fo*, east and west. There is a tradition of conflict between the two *fo*. Mr. Su of Qinglong Xiang remembers the fights between the Xi Fo and the Dong Fo (Western and Eastern Buddhas) when he was young. He was from the Dong Fo, but going to middle school in the Xi Fo in the 1940's. A full-on street fight broke out with guns and knives, and the middle school students would have been attacked, were it not for their teacher who led them to safety under a banner of truce. The *pujing* temples used to be integrated into the imperial temple networks (i.e. with the city god temples), but often incorporated popular gods such as in the Qinglong Temple.

The gods of the Qinglong Temple appear on the altar (facing) as follows:

Bao Furen	Baoshengdadi (big)	Wen Wangye
Guo Furen	Baoshengdadi (smaller, for	Shuangbao (twins)
(Wangye's wives)	procession)	

procession. The god is taken out, often on his or her birthday or at New Year, and a procession is carried out around a set area. It is generally associated with purification, that is, all the evil spirits are chased away by the god; with luck, that is, people will be able to pick up talismans from the god, or have the god visit their house; and with entertainment, that is, the god likes to go out for a stroll. In Qinglong Xiang, the procession area corresponds to the *jing* boundaries. However, they also co-ordinate with the neighboring *jing* to make sure the god visits that *jing* as well. There is also a tradition of conflict between the *jing*. It is unclear at this point as to whether Baoshengdadi visiting the neighbouring *jing* is a reform-era phenomenon, because the neighboring *jing* no longer has its own temple, or if this also happened in the past, possibly because the Qinglong temple was the *pujing* temple, that is one step up in the hierarchy.

Only Baoshengdadi can be seen from in front of the altar. Wen Wangye is hidden, as he is a pestilence god. There are many Wangye (literally king-grandfather) gods, and their sects are semi-secret, as they are gods that bring evil and illness, rather than luck, as is the case for most gods. He is ritualistically placated and sent away on a boat built by a Taoist Master, often at Pudu, although not at this temple.

Pudu, or festivals of Universal Salvation (also known as the Hungry Ghost Festival) are normally the 15th day of the 2nd and 10th months, with the largest on the 15th day of the 7th month. However, in Quanzhou, the Pudu of the 7th month are staggered, with each *pujing* celebrating Pudu on different days. In Qinglong Xiang is it held on the 21st day of the 7th month of the lunar calendar. This custom ostensibly was legislated by magistrates during the late imperial era because of violence between the different *pu*jing. Mr. Su of Qinglong Xiang said that the legend behind the different Pudu dates is as follows: an official family and a merchant family fought over the privilege of holding Pudu, with the winner selecting the first date and the loser the last. Another part of the legend is that the merchant family had been given a gold plaque from the emperor. The merchant invited the official over to his home, and threw excrement and garbage all over the floor. He ordered the official to kneel. The official of course refused, at which point the merchant brought out the gold plaque. As a symbol of the emperor, the official had no choice but to kneel. The obvious interpretation of this legend is the conflict between merchant and official classes, common to most of China in the late imperial era, but interestingly for Quanzhou, the merchant comes out on top, reflective of the strength of that class, still true today.

The Festival of Universal Salvation is the day when the gates of hell open, and hungry ghosts roam the world. Everyone sets out food on their doorsteps to feed the ghosts. It is originally a Buddhist festival, based on the Tang dynasty legend of Mulan saving his mother from hell. Buddhist monastaries and nunneries in Fujian normally celebrate Pudu by offering food and reciting sutras to save the souls of ghosts. Temples dedicated to popular religion do not necessarily have rituals on Pudu, but households will generally make offerings. In Qinglong Xiang, offerings are set out at the door, and anyone happening by will be invited to eat. Mr. Su said that the celebrations used to be much more lively before liberation, but that everyone on the alley still enjoys getting together with family for a feast on this day. There were no celebrations being held at the temple on this day.

Festivals are held on the following dates (dates correlate with the gods' positions above):

5.14 (opera)	3.15 (opera)	9.1 (movie)
10.15 (movie)	5.2 (movie)	6.6 (movie)

The most recent festival was to celebrate Bao Furen's birthday. Accounting as follows:

spent: RMB 8261.55
received: 5492
deficit: RMB 2769.55

Costs broken down:
3 day opera: 7000
pasting donation slips: 900
opera troupe tip: 316.55

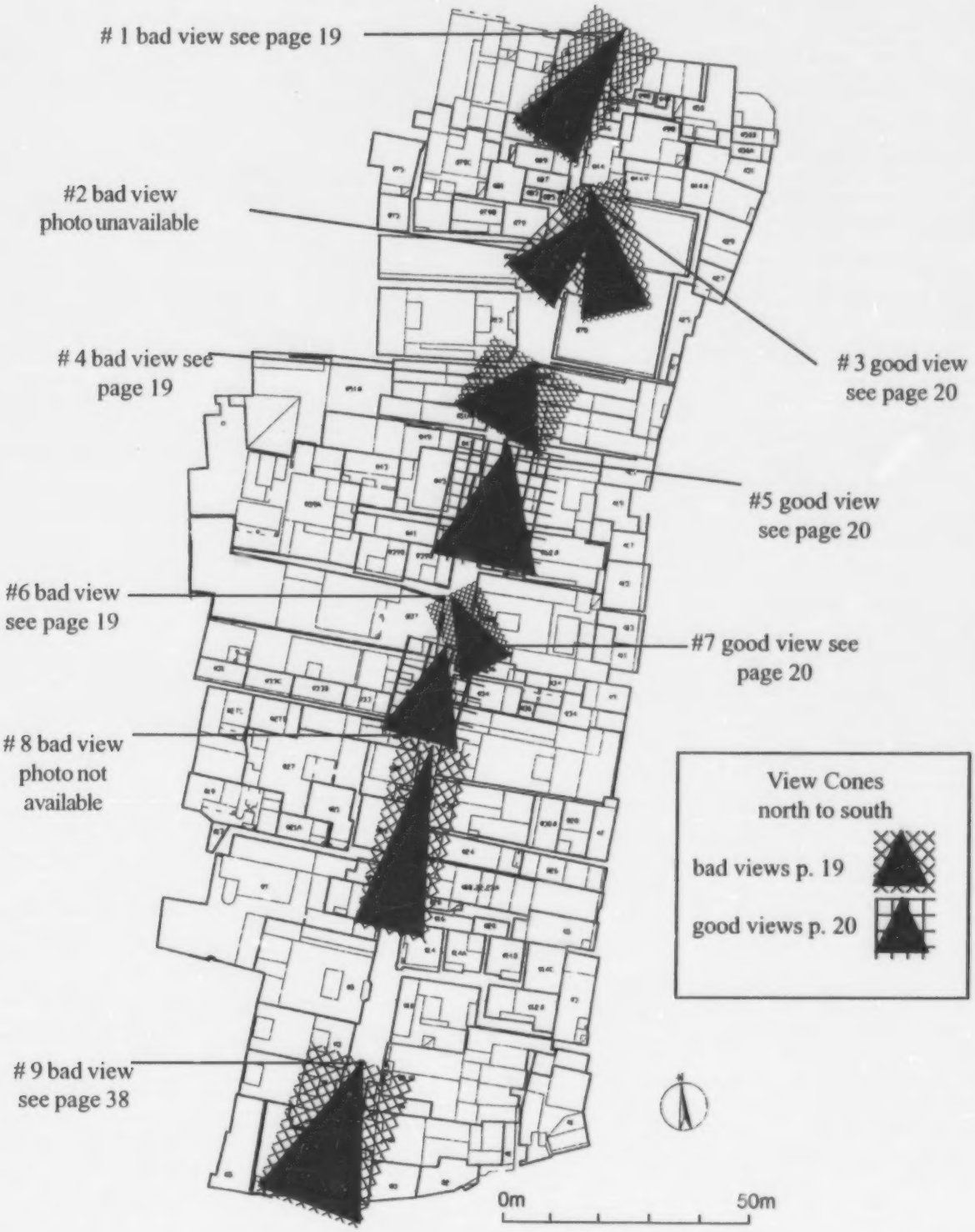
Money earned from:
incense money particularly for this festival: 4365
regular incense money: 931
sold ashes from paper money: 118
sold turtle cakes: 78

It is not uncommon for temples to run into debt over festivals, although apparentlythere have been some accusations with regards to fraud being voiced around temple association activities.

Temples are also often the most immediate physical manifestation of overseas Chinese ties in a neighborhood. Every temple has a list of donors with the amount of money contributed towards the building of the temple usually engraved in stone. These lists invariably include overseas Chinese contributions that are usually pointed to proudly by the temple committee, and the Qinglong Gong is no exception. Interestingly, new research by Professor Chen of Xiamen University's History Department suggested that the building of temples may be the major financial contribution overseas Chinese make to their home towns. Although most governments in China talk up their investments from overseas Chinese, and the common assumption is that overseas Chinese are more willing to invest in the places they have *guanxi*, or connections, that is, their hometowns or provinces. Professor Chen, however, has found that overseas Chinese invest where they think they will make money, and that is rarely in their hometowns, where they are often unable to make rational business decisions because of their *guanxi* connections. They do, however, invest in temple building, what Professor Chen refers to as "face" investment. He further hypothesizes that the overseas Chinese donator is not expecting to gain face with the locals for temple building, but rather within his own community of overseas Chinese.

View Maps

In addition to surveying specific public facilities, the students also developed view maps of Qing Long Xiang as a way to familiarize themselves with the street, the individual houses and how the houses integrated into the neighborhood as a whole. Zhuang Zhixi summarised the information into two view maps with view cones indicating good and bad views. Photographs were used to illustrate the views. The maps and some of the photographs are reproduced in the following pages.


1 bad view see page 19
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#6 bad view see page 19
#7 good view see page 20
8 bad view photo not available
9 bad view see page 38
View Cones north to south
bad views p. 19
good views p. 20
0m
50m

Figure 1. View Map: Analysis of Streetscape Quality -- Views from North to South

BAD VIEWS
QING LONG XIANG
NORTH TO SOUTH

#1

4

6

GOOD VIEWS
QING LONG XIANG
NORTH TO SOUTH

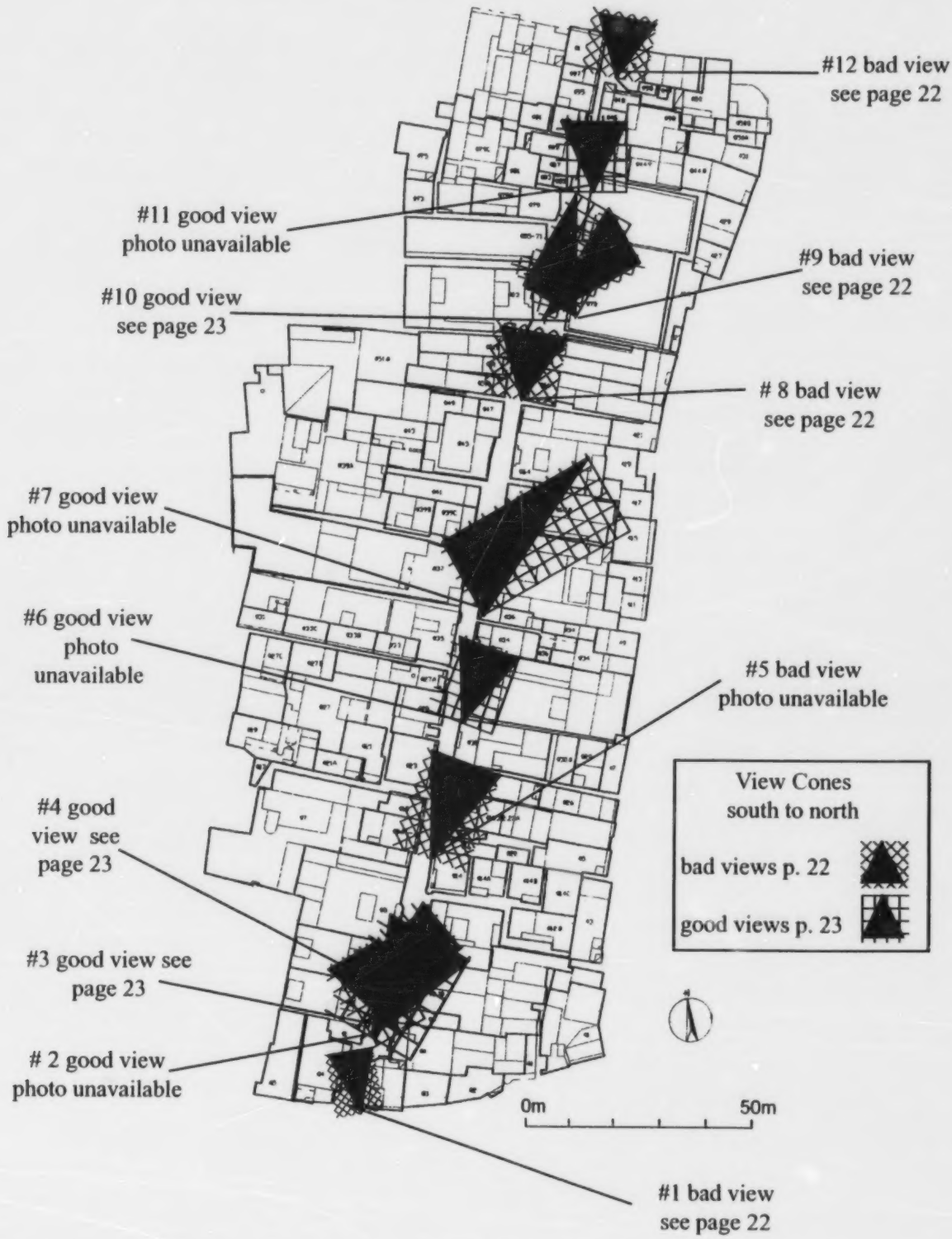


Figure 2. View Map: Analysis of Streetscape Quality -- Views from South to North

BAD VIEWS
QING LONG XIANG
SOUTH TO NORTH

#12

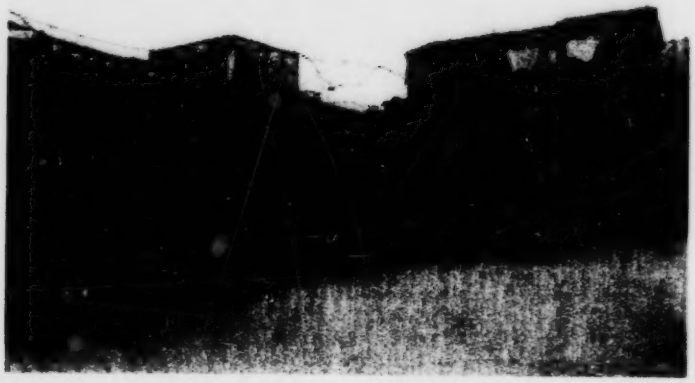
#8

#1

#9

GOOD VIEWS
QING LONG XIANG
SOUTH TO NORTH

#10



#4

#3

2.2 Design Clinic

Having come to appreciate many of the issues facing housing and urban-environmental upgrading in Qinglong Xiang during the first week of the studio, the UBC, Tsinghua and McGill students undertook the "design clinic" as an educational exercise both for the residents and for the planning authorities. For the residents, students attempted to show that a household could live in as "modern" and economical a fashion as it desired, and still build a house that incorporated elements of the traditional vernacular: courtyards, lightwells, pitched roofs, and brick, stone and terracotta rather than glazed tiles. Since the students asked for volunteers from among the residents to work with them over the course of a week on creating their designs, each example responded directly to the actual conditions of a variety of households, including considerations of adequate space for the number of family members, and, to the extent available in such little time, the cost of materials and labor.

The most contentious issue was the massing and total area of the houses. In some cases, students prepared up to three different schemes for a house: one that complied with the residents' wish for a maximum of floor space; one that complied with the municipal ordinance limiting all houses to no more than two stories; and one which the students recommended as a compromise, showing how proper use of setbacks, terraces and roof form could allow even a three story building to respect the traditional cityscape. This latter argument was directed at the planning authorities. The same problem was addressed through the public space "visioning" exercise, showing views of the lane according to plans and regulations of different degrees of severity. The least severe alternative was to limit all interventions to the public structures themselves, for example, improving street furnishing and planting, burying underground all the overhead utility lines, and restoring the original granite paved street surface that had been overlaid with asphalt. More severe alternatives included re-facing a number of houses with more contextual materials and selective demolition of the highest illegal structures. The most severe showed the demolition of all construction above the second floor. The students also produced views based on two different schemes proposed by residents themselves.

The combination of individual housing designs and streetscape schemes had the advantage of addressing residents' immediate concerns while also drawing their attention to the collective space of their neighborhood and vividly showing the impacts of individual choices on collective space. Some residents who at first were quite rigid in their wish to maximize floor space, later acknowledged the public-environmental benefits of massing and height limits, and came to appreciate the value of the exercise as a form of mediation between their aspirations and public policy. The planning team was also able to use the students' work to inform an argument that municipal restrictions on building height and density should take into account the varying plot size of different households. The literal realism of the photographic approach to streetscape schemes, however, had the drawback of allowing minor errors or details in rendering to distract from the more general issues of massing and materials.

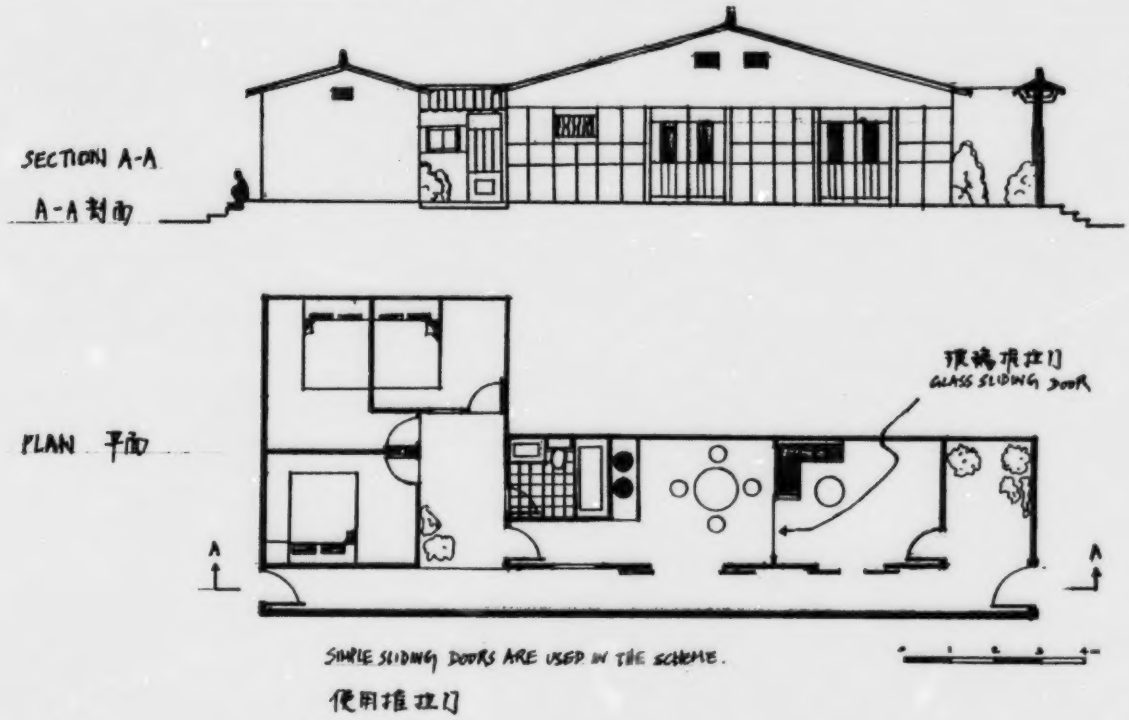


Figure 3. Neighborhood Conservation and Upgrading--Qing Long Xiang Housing Design Clinic. Scheme for courtyard house upgrading within legally allowed height limit. (Design by Alexander Chang).

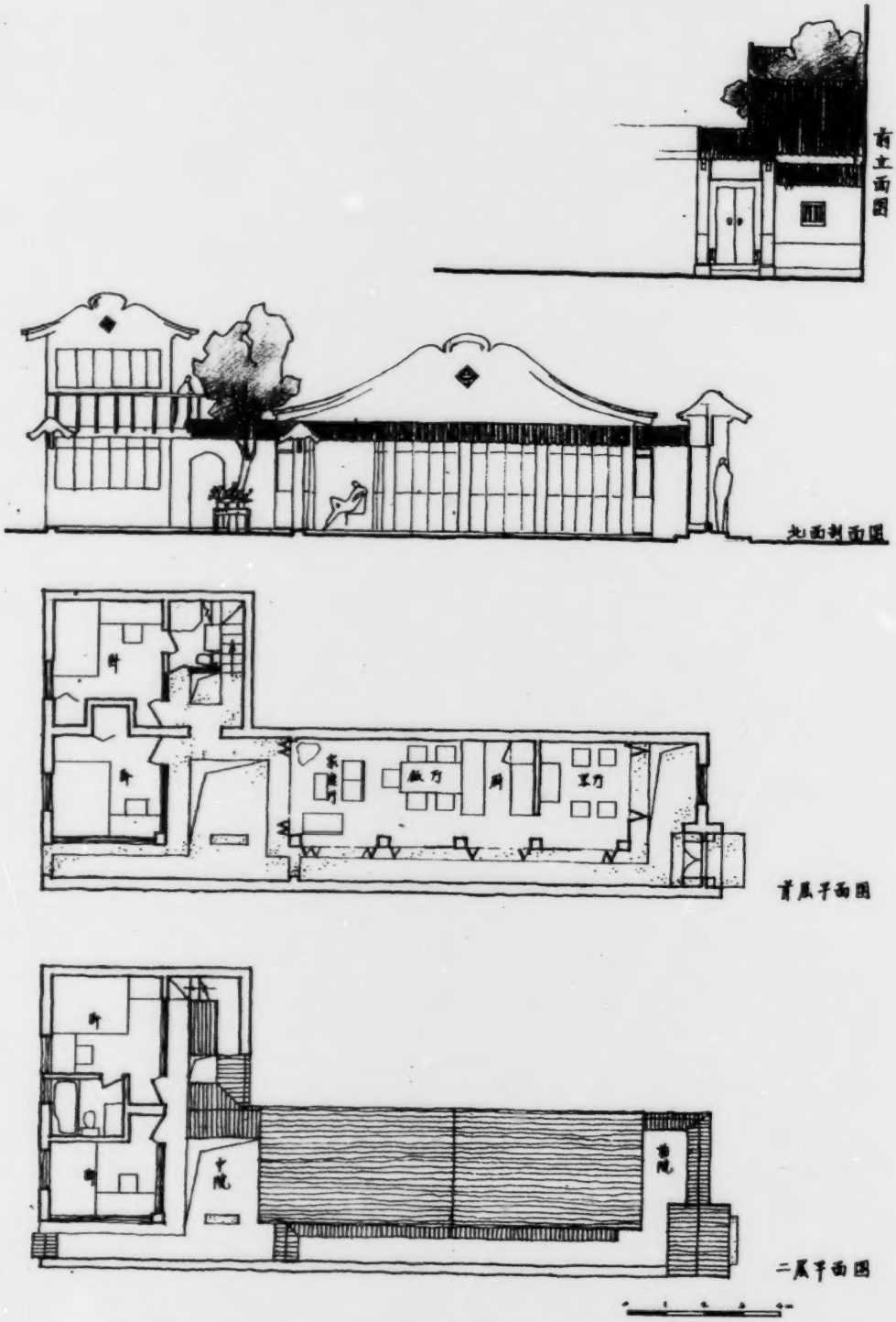


Figure 4. Neighborhood Conservation and Upgrading--Qing Long Xiang Housing Design Clinic. Scheme showing same courtyard house as in Figure 1, but upgraded with an additional storey in the rear. (Design by Danny Chan).

HOUSEPLANS

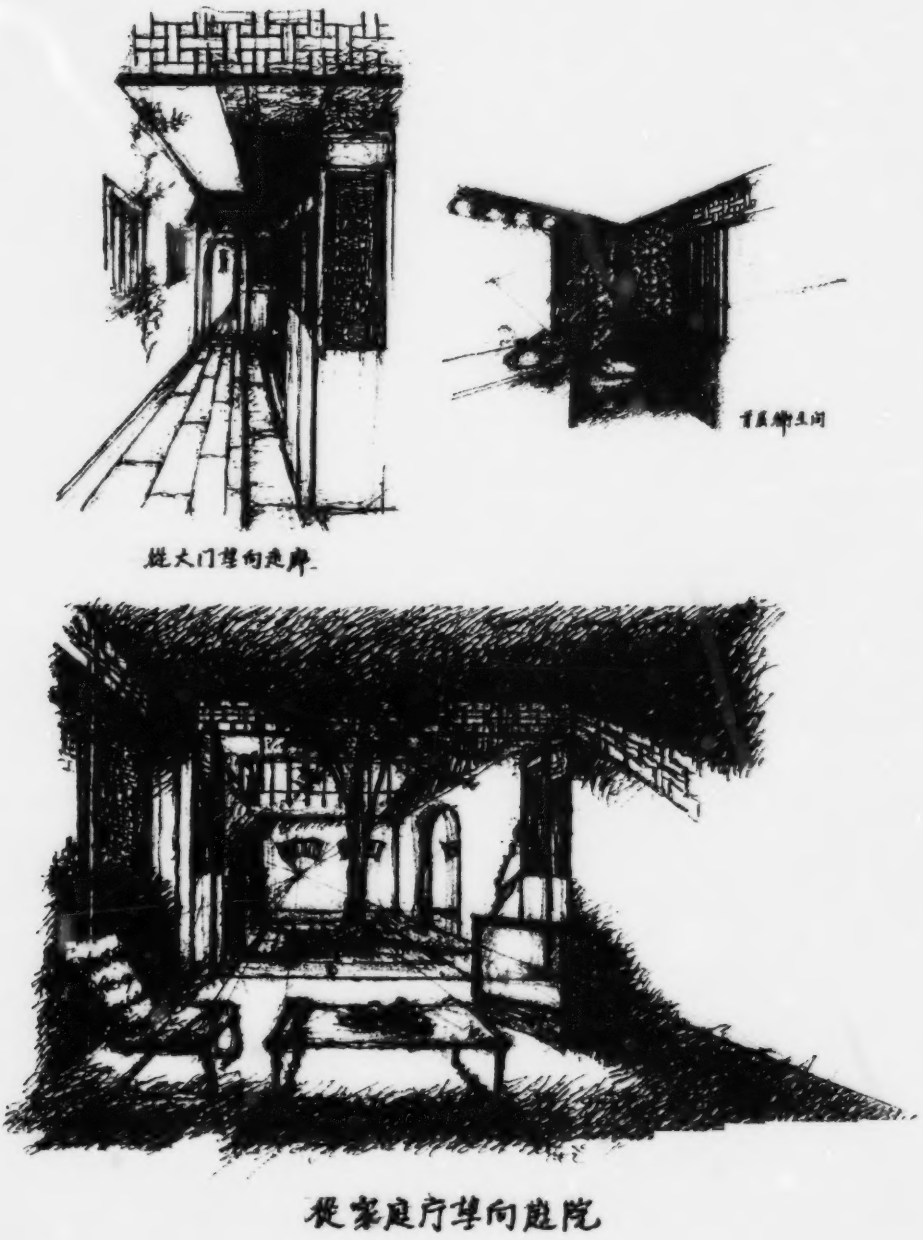


Figure 5. Neighborhood Conservation and Upgrading–Qing Long Xiang Housing Design Clinic. Views of interior of courtyard house shown in Figure 2. (Design by Danny Chan).

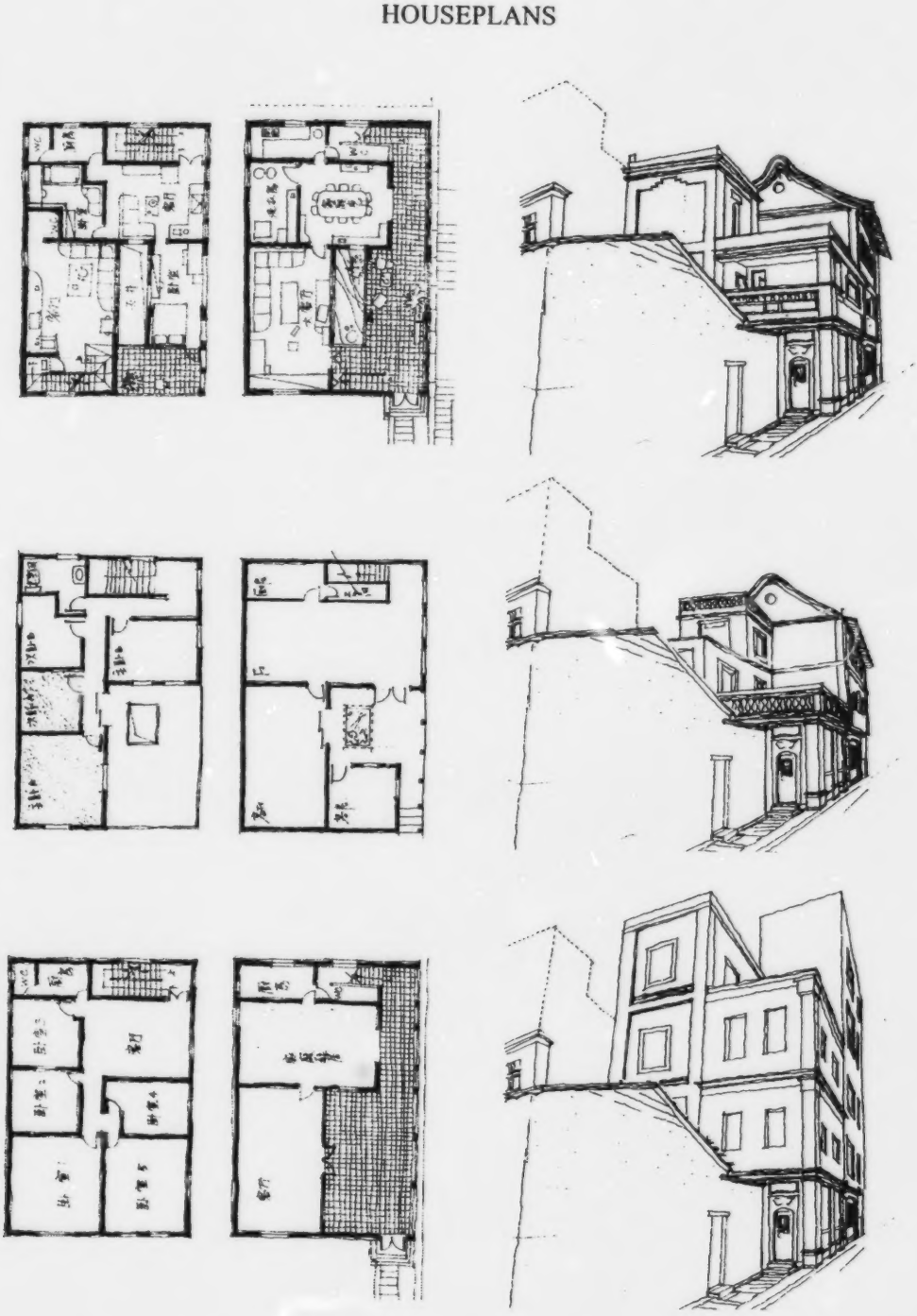


Figure 6. Neighborhood Conservation and Upgrading–Qing Long Xiang Housing Design Clinic, showing three alternative schemes for a villa-style house: (1) Residents ideal (bottom), (2) Legally allowed (middle), and (3) proposed compromise (top). (Design by Zou Tao).

Figure 7. Neighbourhood Conservation and Upgrading--Qing Long Xiang Public Space Design. Photoshop images were used to graphically demonstrate ways in which the public space could be upgraded. (Design by Su Teng).

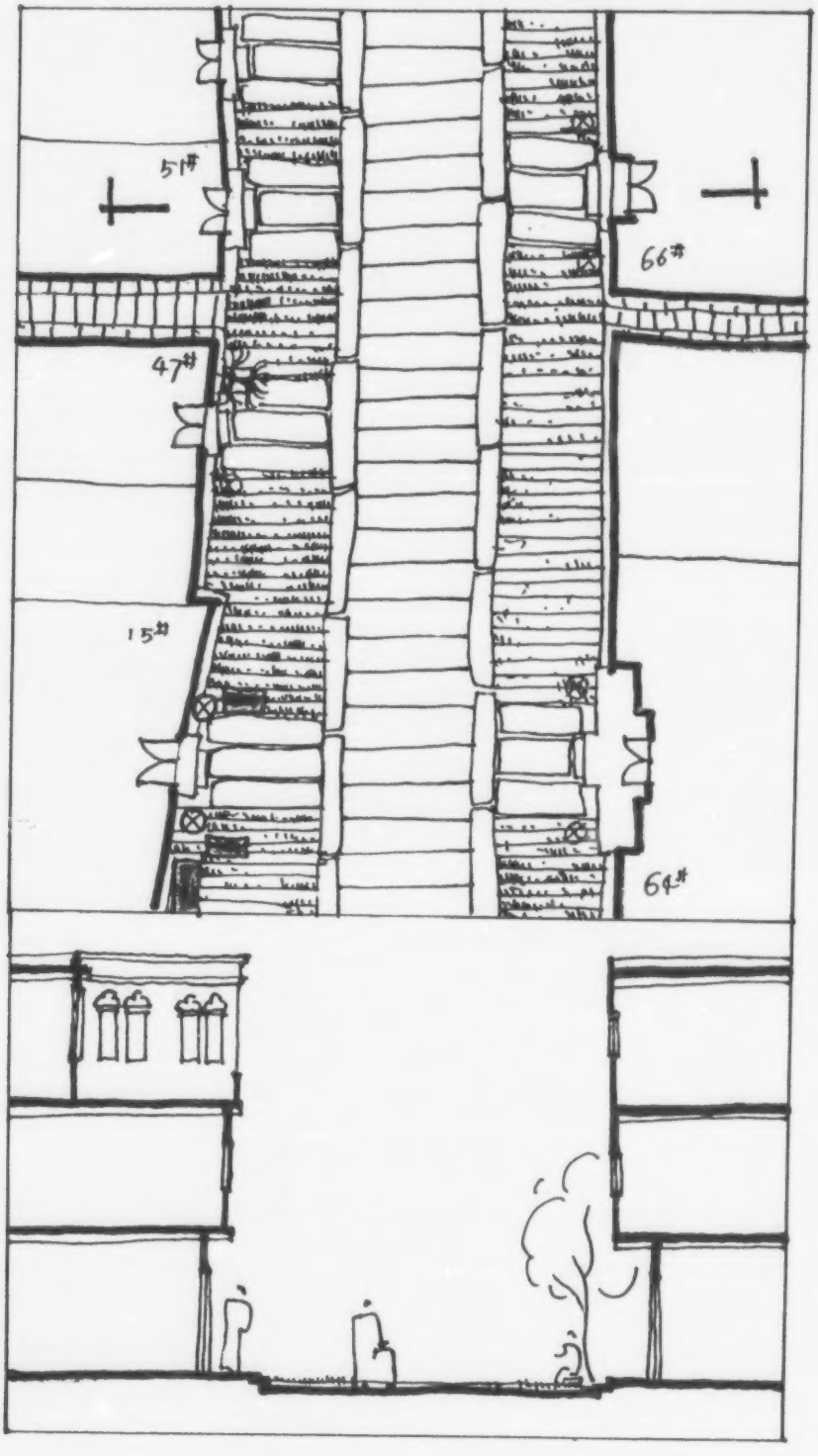


Figure 8. Neighbourhood Conservation and Upgrading--Qing Long Xiang Public Space Design. (Design by Wang Ping).

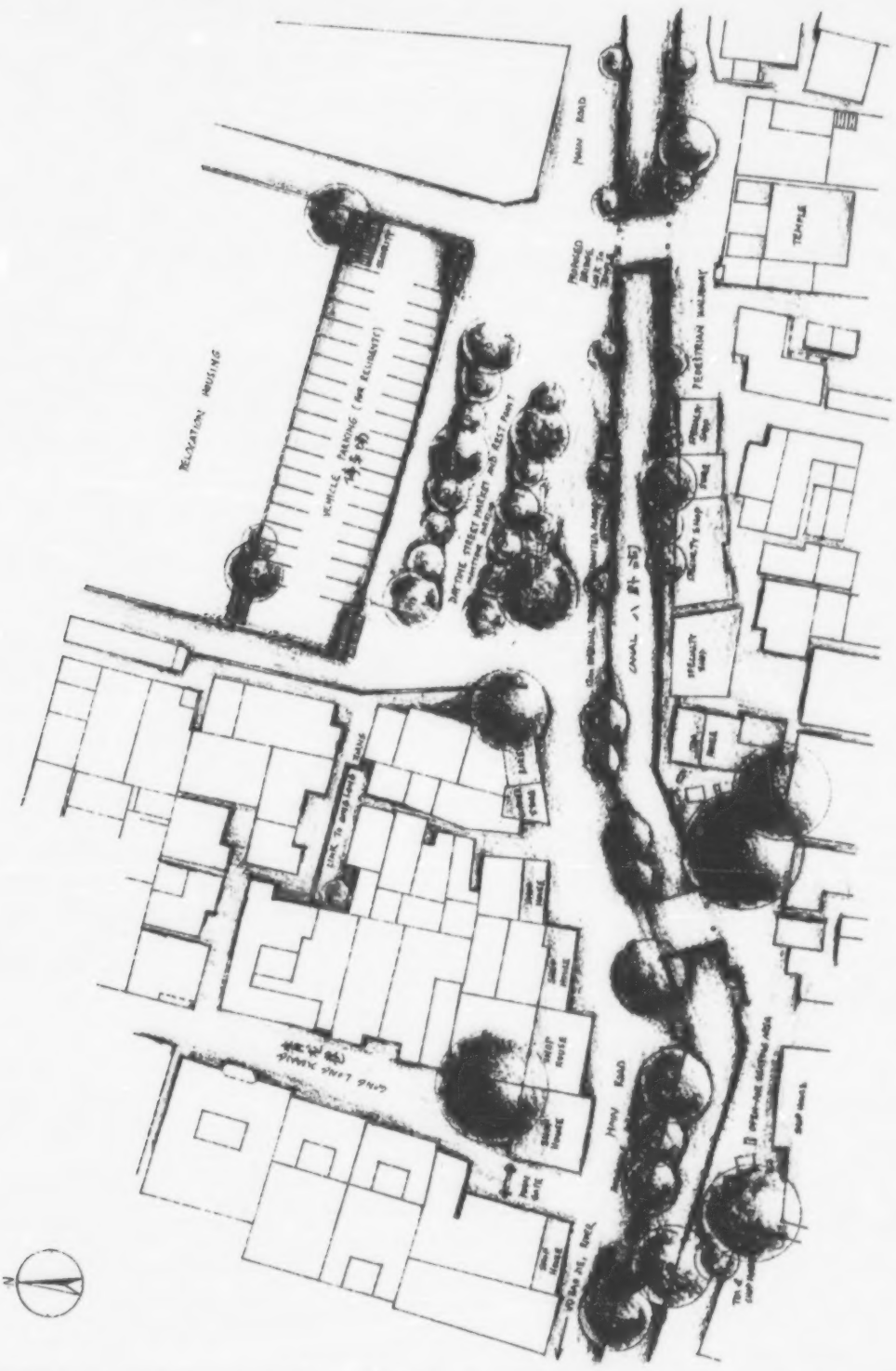


Figure 9. Neighbourhood Conservation and Upgrading--Qing Long Xiang Public Space Design. (Design by Savina Prasenth and Hanley Tsang).

2.3 Design Guidelines

Partly to deal with this problem, the third exercise of the studio, the development of design guidelines, distilled from the work up to this point a set of general but explicit principles of decision-making about specific elements of the design. The guidelines were organized roughly in order of scale, from large to small, and from public to private space, and according to three major categories: Streets, Building Form, and Facade Elements. Within each major category, specific topics included principles as well as illustrated good and bad examples. Topics under Streets included street pattern and width; street space; furniture; lighting; infrastructure; alleyways; planters; trees; and paving. Building Form included massing and setbacks; skyline; roofs; balconies, overhangs, porches, parapets and cornices. Facade Elements included gates and entries; steps and thresholds; doors; windows; wall structure and facing materials; and planting and gardens (admittedly not a facade element, but part of the private realm).

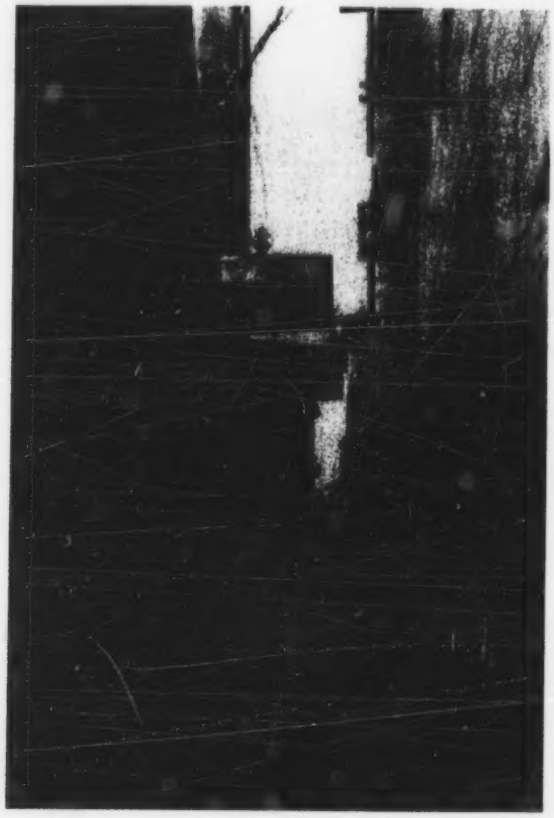
The object of the guidelines was to clarify the rationale behind the regulation of style, and where such rationale was lacking; thereby to facilitate further discussion, and finally to allow residents a degree of flexibility in the timing and manner of their compliance with the regulations. The guidelines were presented to the planning authorities in Quanzhou as an example of "performance standards," as opposed to "specification standards." The wording emphasized choices and preferences, rather than requirements. As such, the guidelines represented a radical departure from the approach usually taken by Chinese planners. Despite all the reasons Quanzhou's situation presents for taking such a departure in its Old City, the Planning Bureau is not yet convinced. The application of guidelines takes time, and there are strong political pressures on the municipal government to produce visible results quickly. The Planning Bureau is more used to commissioning a set of blueprints and building it. The UBC-Tsinghua team has tried to present the work in Qinglong Xiang as a reference for use in other neighborhoods throughout Quanzhou's Old City, but the municipal government is still tempted to make Qinglong Xiang a one-of-a-kind showcase: in effect, unwittingly to produce one more example of the global trend to "museumize" urban architectural heritage. The UBC-Tsinghua team strongly advised against this approach.

Following are selections from the Guidelines (see Appendix IV for full list of un-illustrated guidelines).

STREET FORM

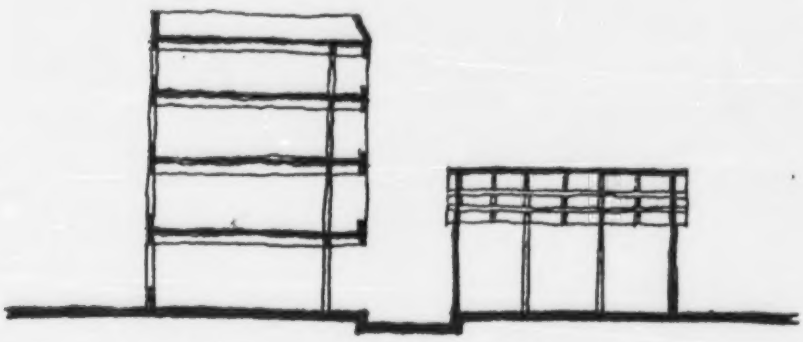
- Qinglong Xiang is not only an access way, it is also a living space for the residents. As such, it should:
  - support social activity as well as traffic
  - favor pedestrians over cyclists, and cyclists over motor vehicles

ALLEYWAYS



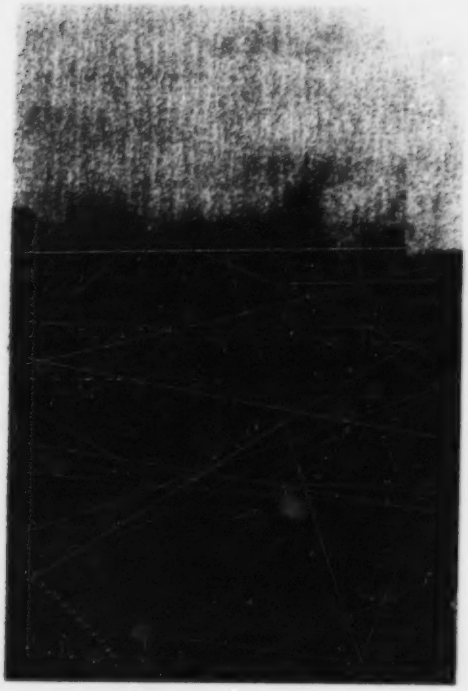
- alleyways serve as passage to other lanes, buildings, and private accessways, and act as fire escape routes and fire breaks. As such:
- they should be free of obstacles for emergency access
- balconies and overhangs should not extend into the alley space
- their entrances may be identified with gate-like roofs or overhangs

Insufficient setbacks and poor massing



Good setbacks and massing

Figure 10. Setback Guidelines



ROOF

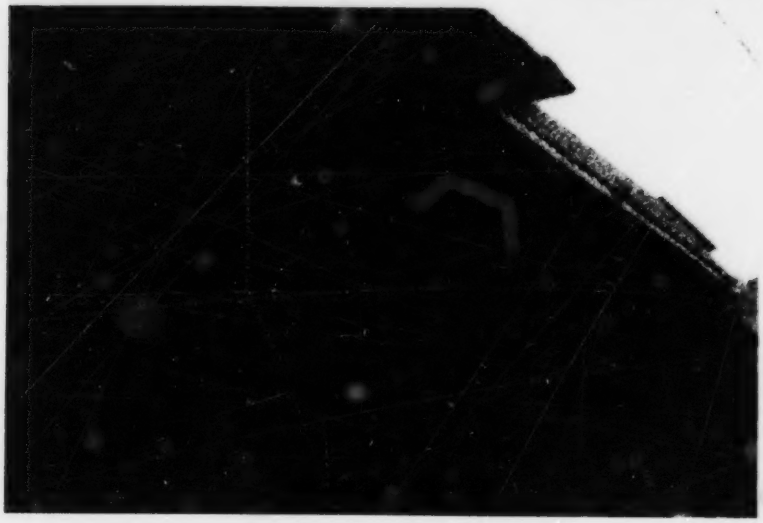
- roofs of new buildings should reference traditional vernacular or colonial style
- traditional vernacular style roofs consist of
- curved pitches
- overhanging eaves with wood brackets
- high fire walls or gable ends
- "swallowtail" roof ridges
- the higher the roof, the longer the roof span

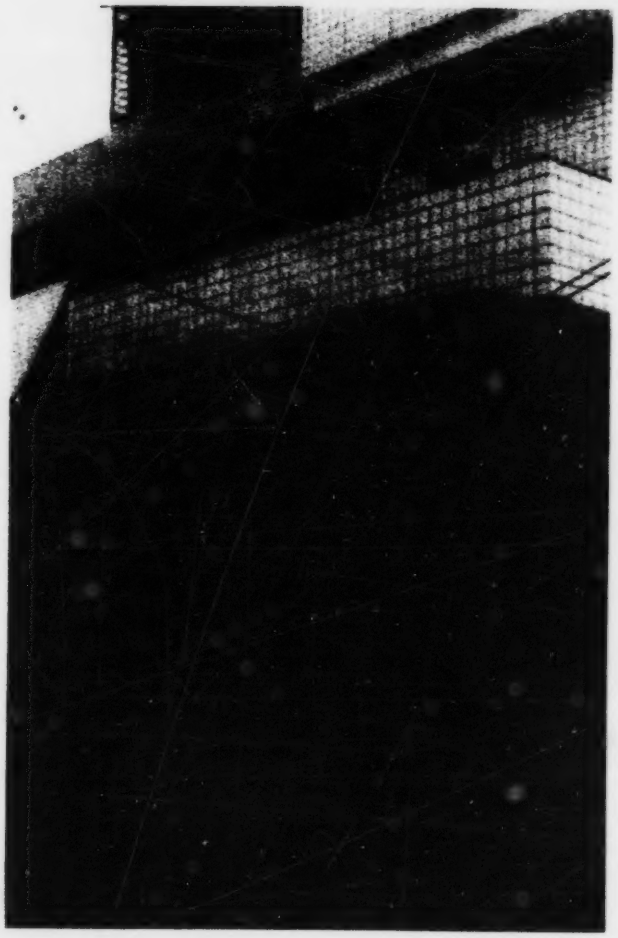
colonial style roofs consist of

- straight pitches
- balustrades
- cornices and parapets
- the higher the building, the shorter the roof span

- modern buildings that use flat roofs should employ colonial vernacular elements

BALCONIES, OVERHANGS, PORCHES, PARAPETS AND CORNICES



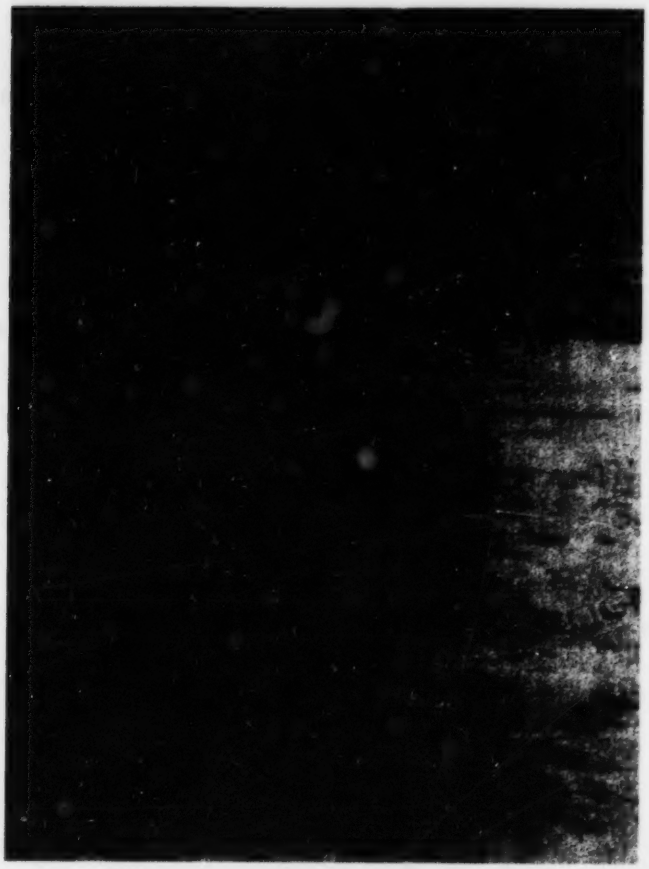


- balconies should extend neither beyond the property line nor along the side alleys due to potential fire spread
- roofs or overhangs over gates in garden walls may extend beyond the property line
- in large houses, building mass should be reduced on upper stories by using porches or terraces instead of fully-enclosed rooms on the side(s) of the house facing the street
- caging around balconies should not be used
- cornices should be articulated and may extend outward from the face of the building
- each of these features should be of materials and detailing that references traditional or colonial vernacular architecture

GATES AND ENTRIES

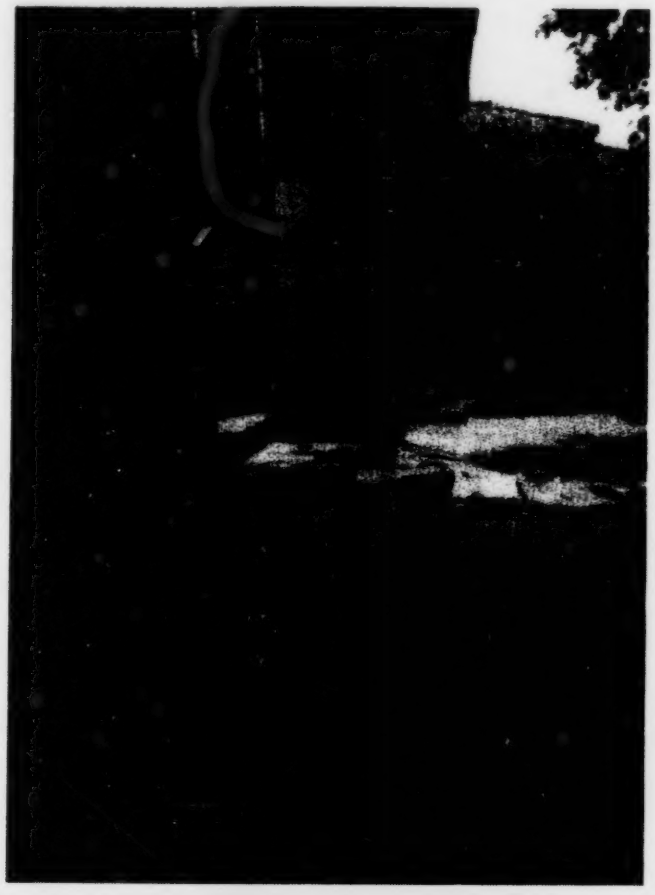
- gates in garden walls should have roofs or overhangs
- traditional entries are recessed and contain fine carvings around the doorways
- materials around entrances should be mainly of granite, though more finely cut and finished than the granite in the street
- granite wall bases next to entries should be higher than elsewhere along the wall
- panels of fine brickwork or carved stone around doorways are encouraged

STEPS AND THRESHOLDS



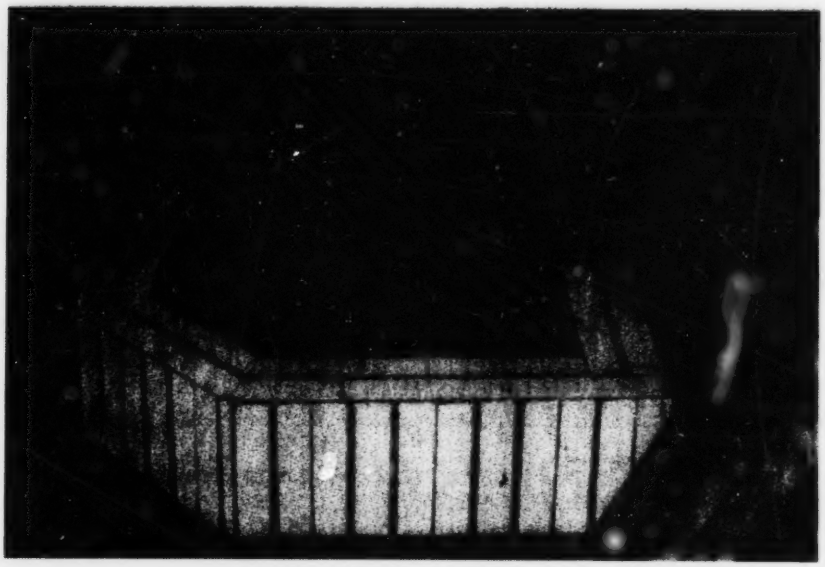
- steps and thresholds of building entrances are parts of a transitional space between public and private realms. Designs for steps and thresholds should be considered part of the "ground zone" and be of granite or other materials that blend in with the street pavement

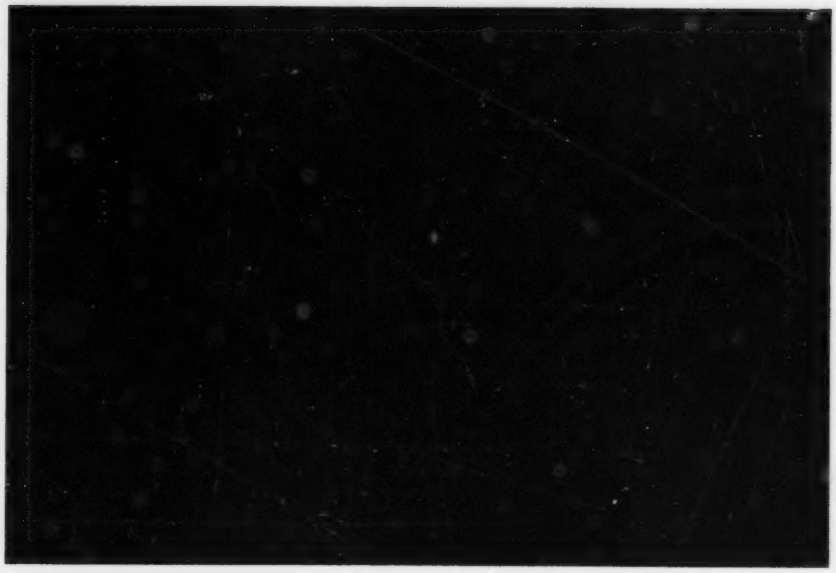
- steps and ramps should not be allowed to extend too far into the public lane as they can become obstacles against pedestrians and vehicular traffic; if necessary, steps and ramps can be turned parallel to the building face



PLANTERS

- planters should be of granite block placed either horizontally or vertically
- tiles should not be used as surfacing material on planters
- planters can also serve as benches, especially under shade trees





TREES

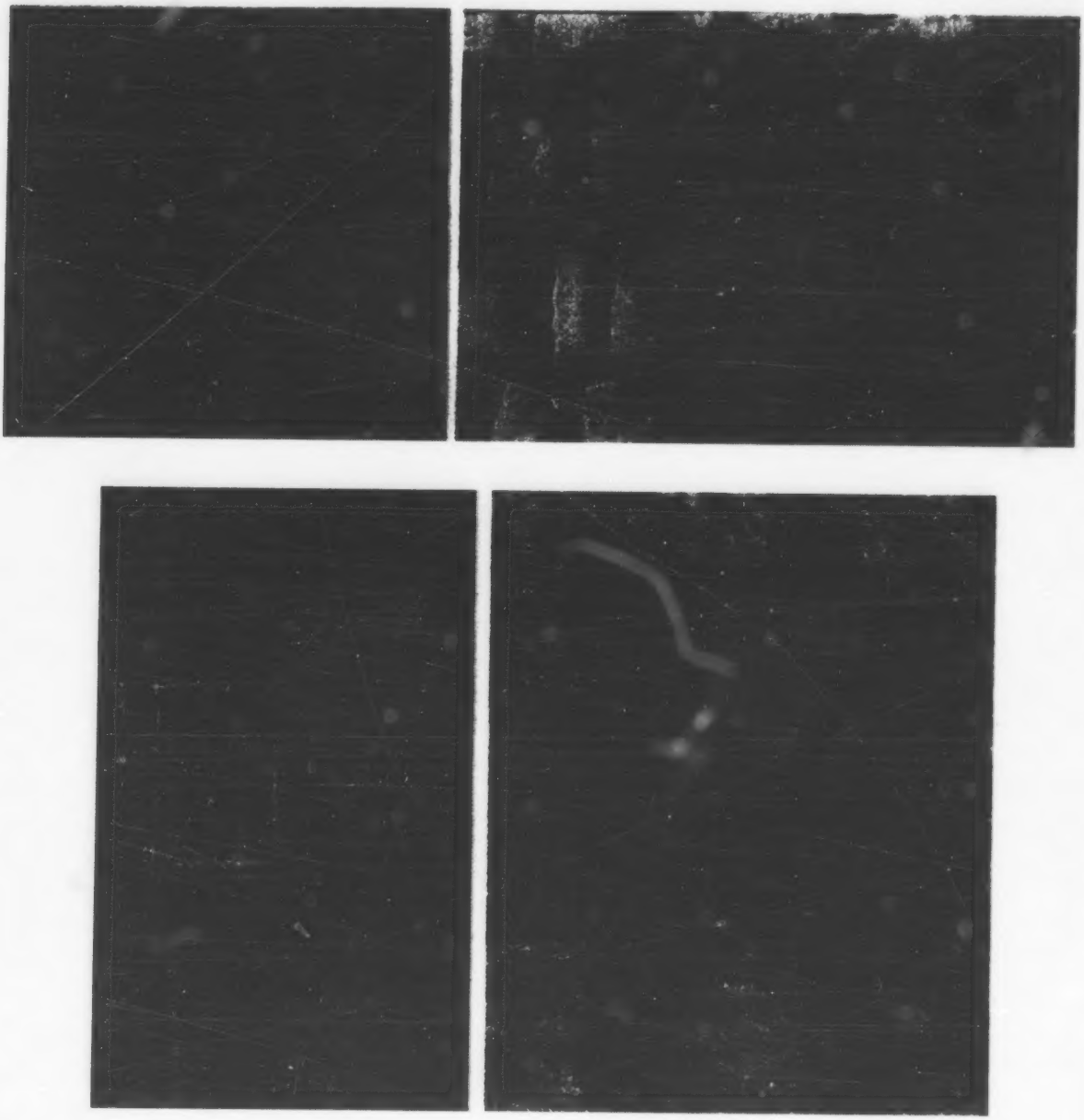
- trees should be used to define space and direct views as well as to provide shade from the heat and sun, provide visual screening and privacy, and attenuate airborne sounds
- large trees may be grown along the street only in widened areas; otherwise, they should be planted in large open spaces such as a park, or in private yards.
- paving may go all the way to tree trunk, with configuration of paving and size of pavers adjusted to allow growth of tree

DOORS

- doors should be of wood whenever possible; if metal doors are used, they should not be visually dominant
- metal door grilles are acceptable, if not highly reflective and kept free of rust

WINDOWS

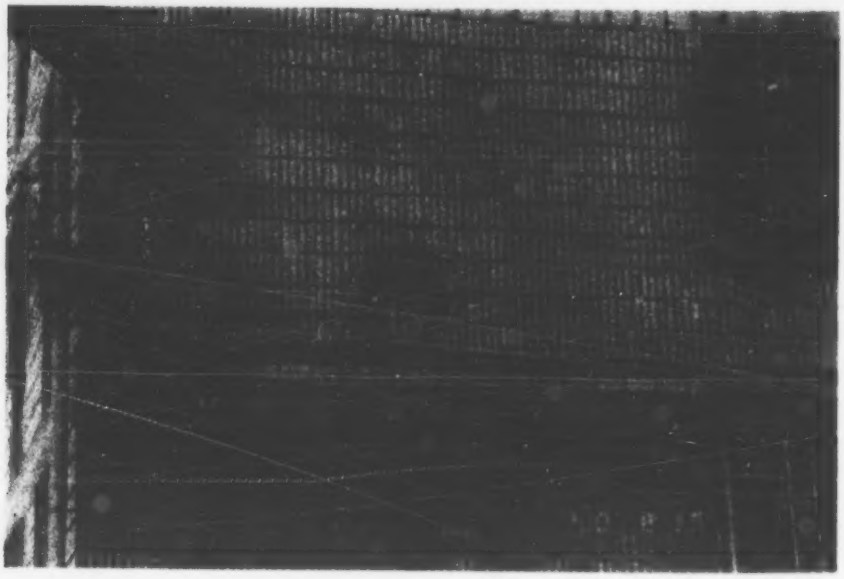
- window openings may not occupy more than 1/3 of the entire facade area
- window openings should be vertically oriented or square in shape
- windows should be divided into frames that open outward, casement-style, with overhead transoms; sliding frames should not be used on publicly visible facades
- window glazing should be transparent and colorless
- window frames visible from the public space must be of wood; metal and sliding frames should be used only behind stone, brick or ceramic grilles



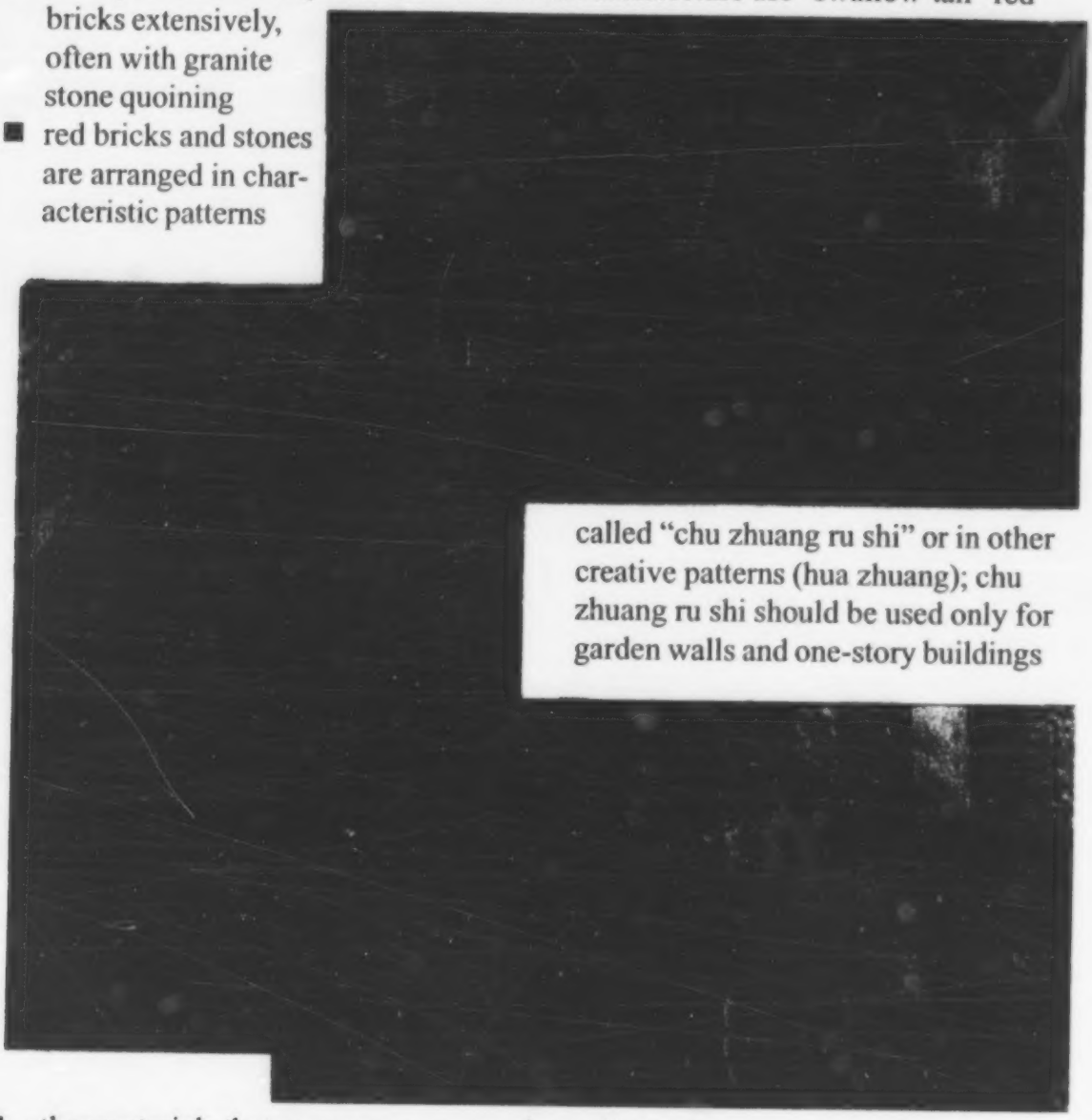
- security grilles should be placed on the interior face of the window
- if security grilles are placed at the exterior face of the window, they should be placed such that they are invisible from the street; caging around windows should not be used

WALL STRUCTURE AND FACING MATERIAL

- Quanzhou is in the so-called "red brick" region of Fujian; red brick and white granite should form the basic architectural background of Quanzhou's old city.
- Buildings of concrete walls faced with glazed ceramic tiles contrast sharply with Quanzhou's vernacular architectural tradition. Traditionally, public space, including the exterior surface of building walls, is characterized by rough, natural materials; as one moves into increasingly private and interior spaces, architectural materials become increasingly smooth, artificial, finely detailed and easily cleaned. Thus, the public street is built of rough granite, exterior walls of brick or stucco, entryways and courtyards of smoother granite or terracotta floor tile, sitting rooms and bedrooms of wood or glazed ceramic flooring and wood paneled or plaster walls, and kitchens and bathrooms of shiny glazed tile and molded porcelain or stainless steel fixtures.
- Wall facing materials should be considered for the gracefulness with which they age. Glazed ceramic tile may be easily cleaned in the short term, but it becomes indelibly stained over time by rust and discolored water; brick, stone and stucco, on the other hand, do not have to be cleaned at all, and they become more beautiful as they are stained and weathered



- a suitable wall design in Qing Long Xiang should make reference to the following:
- facing materials in Quanzhou's vernacular architecture use "swallow-tail" red bricks extensively, often with granite stone quoining
- red bricks and stones are arranged in characteristic patterns



called "chu zhuang ru shi" or in other creative patterns (hua zhuang); chu zhuang ru shi should be used only for garden walls and one-story buildings

- other materials that compose a vernacular wall structure are granite at the base (base stone), and brick cornice or wooden eave at the top
- many existing traditional walls are comprised of a mortar and rubble core, which is sandwiched by brick facing or other decorative facing materials
- plaster and stucco in earth-toned color may be used as a facing material, especially in combination with a granite wall base and stone or brick framing around windows, doors and corners, and brick cornices

- Walls that are faced with glazed tiles can be improved by having the tiles replaced with:
  - stucco
  - clay facing brick (plain red or swallowtail pattern)
  - tiles that are less shiny and are similar in shape and color to red brick, with joints that are similar in width to bearing-wall joints
  - If large areas of a multi-story wall surface covered by glazed tile are replaced with another material (as above), the new material should not be uniform across the entire facade, but should be varied:
  - corners of the building or window openings can be trimmed with different materials or colors than the main area of the wall
  - floor or sill levels can be articulated by a change in facing material, or by a joint (if the material is stucco)

3. PRELIMINARY SURVEY WORK IN THE SOUTH CITY AREA

In addition to the survey and design work conducted in Qinglong Xiang itself, the UBC team also began to lay the groundwork for an expansion of the community planning and research project to include potentially the entire Cheng Nan (South City) area. This research had two orientations: (1) to begin to understand the basis and potential for community-based economic development; and (2) to better understand the basis and potential for community self-organization.

3.1 Planning in the Context of Private Ownership

Preliminary research was begun into the economy of the Linjiang Sub-district with a focus on the commercial streets of Jubao Jie and Zhongshan Nan Lu, in order to situate Qinglong Xiang in the wider Cheng Nan preservation project (see Appendices II and III for detailed data from this research). These retail streets are understood to be next on the government's list for preservation and restoration. The potential for involving the community (of merchants, investors and philanthropists as well as residents) in the development process here appears greater than in Qinglong Xiang alone, because the government recognizes this area as needing economic revitalization as well as preservation.

The general economic and demographic situation in the Cheng Nan area is similar to that of the larger Linjiang subdistrict and Quanzhou as a whole. Most property is individually owned, and the majority of people are self-employed in small individual or family run enterprises (*getihu*). Most enterprises in Quanzhou are registered as small or medium with very few large enterprises. The most common types of products manufactured in Quanzhou include toys, gifts, decorations, textiles, clothes, shoes, belts, bags, building materials, car parts and electronics. The migrant population in the Linjiang subdistrict is fairly limited, as there are more factories and therefore more work opportunities in the east city and the suburbs. The Cheng Nan area is more of a retail and residential area than a manufacturing base.

According to the District Statistics Bureau, the Linjiang Sub-district is doing as well, if not better, than the other three inner city sub-districts. However, prosperity seems concentrated more on Wenling Lu and its office developments, and in the three wholesale markets: the Wubao clothing market, the shoe market and the Yiquan Motor and car parts market than in the Cheng Nan area.

The Cheng Nan area historically was the most prosperous in Quanzhou due to its proximity to the port and because the bridge from Xiamen led directly through it. The two main retail streets, Jubao Jie and Zhongshan Nan Lu (South Zhongshan Road) have both seen business drop off in the last couple of years due to the building of the New Bridge. Traffic now by-passes this area completely, and local shopkeepers complain of the lack of people and too much competition.

Shops on Jubao Jie are mainly oriented towards serving the local population, and are therefore dominated by household goods, repair shops for motorcycles, bicycles, and propane tanks, corner stores (*xiaomai bu*), and other service oriented shops (eg. tailor, clothing store, beauty salon, clinic, medicine store etc.). Preliminary inquiries indicate that about half the shops

are run by owners of the buildings and that rents are very low (averaging 300-500 yuan/month) for that space which is rented out. Shop-owners are hoping that the scheduled renovation of Jubao Jie will improve business and some new shops are moving in to the area in anticipation of this.

. Zhongshan Nan Lu is the southern, unrestored section of Zhongshan Lu, which in other sections underwent major façade improvements and upgrading in 1997-98. It had been a very prosperous area when Zhongshan Lu was first widened and rebuilt in the colonial style in the 1930's with several banks headquartered there. Zhongshan Nan Lu is officially designated the New Bridge Miscellaneous Daily-use Goods Wholesale Market (*Xinqiao riza yongpin pifa shichang*), although the wholesale market office is currently closed. This area used to be mainly warehouses. Warehouses now make up approximately a fourth of the space use here and the street is dominated by wholesale building material and household electric small appliance stores. The earliest shops had been there since the late eighties, except for 2 bicycle repair shops, which had been in operation for the last 30 years. There are, however, some retail shops beginning to move in in anticipation of the planned renovation as with Jubao Jie. Also, rents here are considerably lower than further up Zhongshan Lu. Very few owners operate shops in Zhongshan Nan Lu. Most shops are rented, and apparently several of the buildings have absentee landlords; that is, the buildings were owned by overseas Chinese who either fled China, or did not return after Liberation. Some informants stated that rent is paid to the Neighbourhood Committee (*Juweihui*). However, the Subdistrict (*Jiedao*) says that the government only acts as an intermediary between the landlord and tenant. Further research is needed to clarify the ownership and rental patterns.

Table 5. Summary of Jubao Road Retail Survey

Location	Number of shops	Own	Rent	Rent (range/average)
Jubao Road	31	14	15 (2 unknown)	200-1000 /300-500

Table 6. Summary of Zhongshan South Road Retail Survey

Location	South Zhongshan Rd.
Number of Shops Interviewed*	33
Owned	6
Rented	13
Unknown	12 (2 state-owned)
Average Rent (yuan/month)	1000-3000 (range) 1000-2000 (average)
Length of time in present location	9 recently moved state-owned shops: 30+ years the rest : 5-10 years
Type of Shop (construction material)	6
Type of Shop (household goods)	6
Type of Shop (bike repair)	4
Type of Shop (other)	17

Unlike many larger Chinese cities, Quanzhou's retail shops tend to be individual groundfloor storefronts in two or three story buildings with residential space above. The storefronts are usually either rented out by the owner of the building or the owner operates a shop in the space. One question for future research is whether or how frequently shop space is subdivided from the larger building and sold off. This organisation of retail space is followed even in new developments such as the Xincheng Dasha on Wenling Lu partly because developers can make more money from selling retail space than office or residential space, and partly because retailers in Quanzhou prefer to control their own shop space. Also, customers find the proximity of shops, often right below their apartments, convenient, and have no need to travel to a particular building to do their shopping. The Yuantai Dasha on Wenling and Yiquan Lu is an example of an unsuccessful attempt at creating a mall, a form of retail space which dominates most Western cities and large Chinese cities such as Beijing and Shanghai. Management is poor, the space is badly maintained and the businesses did not appear prosperous. The organization of retail space into individual storefronts, is one of the unique characteristics of Quanzhou's urban space and the government should be applauded to preserving and encouraging it.

Retail streets also offer opportunities to continue with participatory planning strategies. Commercial associations of shopkeepers in the West are often amongst the strongest advocates of improving public space and shop facades in an organized and relatively unified manner, as they are aware that a pleasant environment will attract more customers. Moving into the expansionary phase of this project could include aiding in the development of a commercial association of shopkeepers in the Cheng Nan area. One of the options currently being discussed for Zhongshan Nan Lu is a kind of tourist-oriented restaurant street. With the proximity of the seafood market this is an excellent idea, but one of the dangers of these kinds of planned streets is overcompetition from too many identical shops. If shopkeepers themselves are encouraged to participate in the planning process, particularly the entrepreneurial ones who are already anticipating the renewal of this area, they are likely to be able to contribute workable, practical ideas to the economic renewal and implementation of the preservation and development projects. Shopkeepers themselves often have unique insight into the local market conditions, the viability of different kinds of commerce and entrepreneurial ideas for development and economic success. This would provide an excellent opportunity for the continued development of the concept of participatory planning while preserving and renovating the historic commercial streets of the Cheng Nan district as well as implementing economic development through tourism and other retail possibilities.

3.2. Planning in the Context of Autonomous Local Organizations

The possibility of working with a kind of merchant's association for one or other of these areas appears to be a more fruitful avenue to pursue for the development of participatory planning than that of temple associations, as we had originally hoped. A number of prominent characteristics of temples and their associations initially led us to believe that they represent significant potential for non-state community organization for civic ends in general, and that the Qinglong Gong temple association in particular might provide a framework for the residents' side of the participatory planning process in Qinglong Xiang. Temples are vital public spaces and one of the focal points for any community in Fujian. Not only does the community come together ritually in that they join together to finance the temple and the festivals associated with the temple, and the geographic boundaries of the community are usually marked out by the procession of the god, but temples often double as senior and community centres. They are also often a physical demonstration of overseas Chinese links. Temples and temple networks are often pointed to as one of the most vital manifestations of civil society in rural and small town China. However, due largely to internal and currently quite acrimonious divisions over problems in the accounting of finances for Qinglong Gong, this particular temple association did not play a constructive role in the organization of the community for participatory planning. There are other limitations on the usefulness of the Qinglong Gong in this respect, mainly in that the temple is very small and is not a natural gathering place for this neighborhood.

This is not to say that other temple associations would not be able to play a larger role, or that there are no other possibilities for the development of community organizations with an interest in planning processes. One would be the merchants' groups mentioned above. Regarding temples, as stated in the initial proposal for Ford Foundation support, the Huaqiao Ciji Gong temple further up Zhongshan Road from the Cheng Nan area seems to represent a particularly well-established non-governmental form of civic action in Quanzhou, even if its realm of activities is limited to medical philanthropy. Another interesting case discovered by the team during the summer studio is the Sibao Yongchao Gong, which is outside the Cheng Nan area but within the Street Committee/ Subdistrict that administers the Cheng Nan. The Sibao was originally one of a group of five villages each with its own temple, and became the Sibao Jing when they were incorporated into the city. This temple had been turned into a medicine factory during the Cultural Revolution, but many of the residents in the area knew there had been a temple here, there were significant historical records kept in the municipal Daoist Association archives, and a group of activist residents obtained support from the local government for re-establishing the temple (most temples of this size and jurisdiction in Quanzhou were restored without notifying or appealing to the government). Further research needs to be done, but preliminary inquiries point to an interesting mix of government and citizen support for this temple. The temple is of medium size and is already a focus for neighborhood activity. A local resident (our informer) who has become the unofficial historian of the temple appears to possess the kind of informal authority in the community necessary to make the temple a rallying point for collective action in neighborhood upgrading, planning or management.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The manner in which cities in China should govern themselves – the professional tools that are employed, and the way the government engages the citizens – will surely emerge as one of the critical questions for urban planners throughout the world in this new century. China shares many of the urban problems and challenges faced by developing countries everywhere. However, the comprehensiveness of its twentieth-century revolution, its weight as an emerging economic power, and its relative isolation through much of its recent history, make it an especially important place for urban research and experimentation now. Quanzhou has shown itself time and again to be a remarkably open city for new ideas and practices, including those that come from abroad. The studio which this report describes was only one part of an on-going, multi-faceted working relationship between UBC, Chinese academic counterparts, and the government and people of Quanzhou.

The research findings laid out in the report may be only of indirect utility to the planning challenges facing Qinglong Xiang and its surrounding community, but they surely add to Western understanding of the complexities of Chinese urban life and change. Not all Chinese cities are as standardized or bureaucratically hide-bound as many observers have been led to believe; nor are they as uniformly transformed by revolution.

Conditions in Quanzhou also challenge many prevailing ideas of globalisation and its homogenizing impact on local cultures; despite the undeniable incursion of broad southeast Asian (and only indirectly Western) tastes into Quanzhou's vernacular architecture, the same ties that bring such tastes "home" also support temples, allow families to remain in their historical communities, and provide housing opportunities at a wide range of affordability.

Conversely, the design ideas and approaches which the students tested and introduced to Quanzhou's planning authorities and Qinglong Xiang's residents may be crude examples of urban design guidelines from a Western view, but they represented an intriguing conceptual challenge to Quanzhou's planners. The planning authorities in Quanzhou have proven exceptionally willing to experiment so far. If the municipal government should ultimately adopt or adapt any of the policies and practices advocated or introduced by the Summer 2000 studio, we have no doubt that the resulting experience will prove even more interesting and relevant to situations elsewhere in China and the world.

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APPENDIX I: CHRONOLOGY OF STUDIO ACTIVITIES

July 24-26: UBC student orientation in Beijing – study tours of traditional and redeveloped neighborhoods in the Old City and new suburban housing estates; walking lectures on vernacular Chinese settlement form and dwelling culture, housing and land development policy, and urban planning practice.

July 27: Travel by air to Quanzhou.

July 28-29: Orientation meeting with Quanzhou Municipal Planning Bureau staff on policy and regulations for self-built housing in Quanzhou's Old City; UBC and Tsinghua students take walking tours of Quanzhou's Old City.

July 30: UBC and Tsinghua students take walking tour of Qinglong Xiang and the Cheng Nan district; meetings with Qinglong Xiang resident planning core group.

July 31 - August 7: UBC and Tsinghua students carry out housing typological and household surveys.

August 8-12: UBC and Tsinghua students meet with housing design clinic "client" households and propose upgrading schemes for them, or produce public facility upgrading designs; Samantha Anderson begins Cheng Nan area commercial activity survey, and assists Michael Leaf and Dan Abramson in neighborhood temple surveys.

August 10: Progress meeting with Quanzhou's Vice Mayor in charge of urban development, plus officials and staff from the Planning Bureau and the Municipal Architectural Design Institute, and members of the Qinglong Xiang resident planning core group.

August 12: Presentation of public space upgrading schemes and housing design clinic results at meeting open to all residents of Qinglong Xiang.

August 13: Distribution of newsletter to Qinglong Xiang households describing status of planning and including public design and housing design clinic schemes.

August 13-21: Students develop and present design guidelines and results of Cheng Nan area commercial activity survey to the Municipal Planning Bureau; conclusion of studio.

APPENDIX II: HOUSEHOLD SURVEY RESULTS – Table 1: Individual Residences Basic Statistics

ID #	Type of House	Background of Household	Land Area (m2)	Storeys	Year Built	Total Floor Area (m2)	Floor Area Ratio	Number of Residents	Maximum Number of Residents	Floor Area/ Person (m2/p)	Min. Floor Area/ Person
1	dilapidated traditional courtyard	Owner owns 1/3 of the house; brother who lives in Hong Kong owns the other 2/3rds		1	1800's	65		2 households (renters)			
2	dilapidated traditional courtyard	Property rights shared with a distant relative		1	early 1900's	80		2 households			
3	dilapidated traditional courtyard	See above: old building rented out		1	early 1900's	see above		3 (renters)			
4	good condition modified courtyard	5 households share building; owner owns the 6 rooms on the left and a large back room		1	early 1900's			5			
5	good condition traditional courtyard	Owner is a strong supporter of the historic preservation project and would like this house turned into a museum or teahouse; his brother in Indonesia has been encouraging him to build a more modern house.		1	early 1900's + 1983	400		2	4		
6	mixed: traditional courtyard and new	The front is a traditional courtyard style house with a newer two story building in back		1 + 2	early 1900's			3 (owners)	3		
7	mixed: traditional courtyard and new	Shared by 3 families: 2 own the side buildings and one owns the back		1 + 2	1950's + 1992	350		6			
8	mixed: traditional courtyard and new	5 households share property rights		1	early 1900's + 1991	70[1]		22 (five are family)			
9	mixed: traditional courtyard and new	Ancestors from Shanxi Henan, migrated to Minnan area during Qing dynasty Dao Guang period and settled in Qinglong Xiang. The land was originally belonged to a family who all died in a bubonic plague outbreak, after which current family moved in.	110[2]	3	1987	300	2.73[3]	6 (owner couple + elder son's family of 3, grandmother)	7 (owner's mother occasionally visits)	50	43
10	overseas Chinese mansion	Originally a traditional courtyard house, devastated in 1935 floods. Rebuilt with financial help from 5 sons who now share ownership. Family mostly absent now, and house is rented out. None of the owners wants to put the money into restoration. Interviewed owner would like to sell or donate the house.		2	1937			6 (renters- 80-100 yuan/month)			
11	overseas chinese mansion + new	Father and uncle of current resident used profit from a successful shop to build the mansion. the uncle lived in the Philippines and was inspired by the colonial style there.		4	1948 + 1995			5			
12	overseas Chinese mansion + new	Built by an overseas Chinese. Purchased 7 years ago. Now rented out with ground floor converted into a grocery		2	1935 + 1992	250					
13	new multistorey residence	Original building was single storey wooden structure. Tree in front yard is old.	62	3.5	1989	155	2.5	6 (owner couple + elder son's family of 4)	8 (2nd son and daughter often come back)	25.8	19.4
14	new multistorey residence	Taller buildings surrounding the original No. 16 house forced owner to consider building a multistorey in 1982. In 1993 added another 1.5 storeys.	55	3.5	1982 + 1993	200	3.64	4 (owner couple + two daughters)	4	50	50
15	new multistorey residence	Ancestors lived on site since the end of Qing dynasty. At that time total land area was 200 m2. In 1980 the land was divided among 5 households, interviewee and his sister being one household. Later they split their share into two.	26	3.5	1990	87	3.35	3 (owner couple + young son)	3	29	29
16	new multistorey residence	Owner bought plot in 1991. At that time the building was seriously dilapidated and partially collapsed, only 20 m2 of the single storey building was functional.	101	4	1991	250	2.48	5 (owner couple + youngest son's family of 3)	5	50	50
17	new multistorey residence	In 1975 purchased the land, at that time an empty plot with only a wall. A single storey building was then constructed. In 1984 the 2nd storey was added. The building was renovated in 1999.	110	2	1984	180	1.64	5	5	36	36
18	new multistorey residence	Divided land into three sections perpendicular to Qinglong Xiang. Front and back sections are rented out by others. In 1999 purchased another 24 m2 of land in front of this address and would like to build a multistorey building on it.	120	5	1993	335	2.79	9 (3 brothers each have a family of 3)	10 (2nd daughter lives on 5th floor when visit)	37	34
19	new multistorey residence	Owner rented a house in Qinglong Xiang until 1966 and because of marriage purchased No. 79. Because of family expansion purchased No. 44. In 1993 added to a 5 storey building.	71	3	? (pre- 1966)	180	2.54	5 (owner couple + elder daughter's family of 3)	5	36	36
20	new multistorey residence	These residences are two of three subdivisions of a 300 m2 plot that belonged to an extended family that had many branches in this neighborhood. The plot was originally occupied by a large traditional courtyard complex. The family patriarch subdivided the land in order to accommodate three sons, each of whom demolished his portion of the courtyard house and replaced it with a 3.5-storey building covering his entire portion of the land.	150	3.5	1995	470	3.13	5 (owner couple + son, daughter and grandmother)	5	94	94
21	new multistorey residence		80	3.5	1995	250	3.13	5 (owner couple + son and wife, grandmother)	5	50	50
22	new multistorey residence	Originated from Qinglong Xiang. Once migrated to Fuzhou but later moved back.	40	3	1991	100	2.5	4 (Owner and son's family of 3)	4	25	25

[1] Only old part [2] Plus 220 unused backyard [3] 0.91 with backyard

APPENDIX II: HOUSEHOLD SURVEY RESULTS – Table 2: Individual Residences Construction Data

ID #	Type of House	Current Living Conditions	Construction Cost (yuan)	Floor Area Const. Cost (yuan/m2)	Reason for Reconstruction	Design and Construction	Choice of Materials/ Reasons
1	dilapidated traditional courtyard	Drainage and flooding problems, leaky roof, inadequate living space					
2	dilapidated traditional courtyard	Rotten wood structure, leaky roof, drainage and flooding problems, cannot afford maintenance					
3	dilapidated traditional courtyard	No bathroom					
4	good condition modified courtyard	No bathroom or fire protection, leaky roof					
5	good condition traditional courtyard	Too large because inhabitants are elderly- difficult to keep clean.			Façade replaced because dilapidated; now considered too modern, want it restored.	Many excellent vernacular architecture details: including an oyster shell wall	
6	mixed: traditional courtyard and new	Older part has leaky roof. Nearby building (#24) blocks natural light					
7	mixed: traditional courtyard and new	Low water pressure, old part has leaky roof					
8	mixed: traditional courtyard and new	Poor ventilation and lighting, inadequate living space, no bathroom, poor access, leaky roof					
9	mixed: traditional courtyard and new	Satisfactory.	67,000 (self finance + loan)	220	Original building seriously dilapidated.	Designed by elder son. constructed by private contractor	White tiles because it was fashionable at that time and cheap (0.1 ¥ each); red tiles too intense and more costly (0.2 ¥ each)
10	overseas Chinese mansion	In bad repair. Iron gates and railings destroyed during Cultural Revolution			Floods. original house destroyed	Swallowtail brick and stone	4 of the sons lived in the Philippines- influenced by the colonial styles there
11	overseas chinese mansion + new	Leakage and deterioration of mansion; too expensive to repair, owner living in Philippines	Renovations: 30,000		Traditional Chinese section of house in need of repair	Swallowtail brick and stone	White tiles and elaborate stone floor
12	overseas Chinese mansion + new	Not well-ventilated or lighted					In 1992, replaced wooden roofing and beams with reinforced concrete, and green tiles for finish.
13	new multistorey residence	Satisfactory. Tree in front yard provides shade in summer and appreciated by neighbors.	Approx. 150,000	970	Original building seriously dilapidated. also insufficient space for family	private contractor	Concrete structure with gypsum plaster. no face bricks.
14	new multistorey residence	Satisfactory except natural light quality poor			Family expansion and pressures from surrounding taller buildings	private contractor	1st storey stone; storeys above use dark color tiles arranged into hexagonal patterns.
15	new multistorey residence	Satisfactory. 2nd and 3rd storeys have insufficient water pressure. Only 1st storey has bathroom.	Approx. 40,000	460	Original building seriously dilapidated.	Owner designed and built.	Lower part of 1st storey is stone, top 1st and 2nd storeys use light color tiles; red tiles on 3rd storey (neighbors said red tiles were too sharp)
16	new multistorey residence	Satisfactory.	Approx. 150,000	600	Original building seriously dilapidated and family expansion.	Designed by aunt working in architectural firm. Private contractor	Light color tiles because it was fashionable.
17	new multistorey residence	Satisfactory.	150,000. 1999 renovation cost 100,000.	830 (excluding renovation)	Family expansion.	Designed by a relative. Constructed by private contractor.	1st storey stone. 2nd storey white tiles because it is clean-looking and eye-pleasing. Traditional red bricks turn dark after some time. In future renovation wish to use white tiles.
18	new multistorey residence	Satisfactory except natural light quality on 1st storey.	Land: 50,000, building: 100,000 (borrowed 60,000); purchase fee 3,400. Tax 2,000.	300 (just construction) 460 (all costs)	Family expansion.	Private Contractor	Exterior walls using concrete with gypsum plaster.
19	new multistorey residence	3rd storey only 2 m high -- cannot accommodate people. Only used for storage.			Family expansion.	Private Contractor	1st storey stone. 2nd storey tiles and concrete. 3rd storey self-built using red bricks (only 2 m high in poor quality)
20	new multistorey residence	Satisfactory.	Approx. 150,000	320	Original building only had one and a half room to accommodate 5 people.	Private Contractor	White tiles because it was fashionable, clean-looking and eye-pleasing, also cheaper.
21	new multistorey residence	Satisfactory except natural light quality.			Same as above	Private Contractor	Same as above.
22	new multistorey residence	Satisfactory except natural light quality.	>200,000 (partly high interest mortgage). Fined 7,000 for 3rd storey	2,070	Original building seriously dilapidated.	Private Contractor	1st storey base stone and red bricks. 2nd and 3rd storey are concrete painted white.

APPENDIX II: HOUSEHOLD SURVEY RESULTS – Table 3: Individual Residences Householder Opinions

ID #	Type of House	Comments on Space Use	Comments on Facilities	Comments on Public Facilities and Environment	Comments on Preservation of Qinglong Xiang
#1-#8 Households no responses					
9	mixed: traditional courtyard and new	3rd floor unused at the moment	Insufficient water pressure. Have already installed water storage tank on roof. Overhead electric wires are too chaotic. Lane pavement is too high, driving rainwater into houses.	Elderly and people with disabilities find door sills too high and very inconvenient. Burglary has become more serious. Need more green space, especially planting more trees.	Support preservation project and restoration of traditional courtyard houses.
10	overseas Chinese mansion				
11	overseas chinese mansion + new				
12	overseas Chinese mansion + new				
13	new multistorey residence	Just enough space for everyone	Width of lane is inconsistent, but should not force residents to give up their lands to widen. Should also prohibit large vehicles from entering the lane.	More trees should be planted along the lane, especially along the east side where sunshine is strongest. More public space for meeting. parking lot needed.	More consultations with residents should be done on preservation project and other renovation requirements. Strongly against demolition of existing multi-storey buildings or demolition of any storey.
14	new multistorey residence	All rooms are being used	Satisfactory	Neighborhood atmosphere is good. should have a unified scheme for the whole Qinglong Xiang such as infrastructure upgrade and preservation project.	Qinglong Xiang started declining 100 years ago and now is occupied by lower income households. now only 30% are original residents. Preservation project should consider residents' beliefs and financial situation. support preservation of tradition
15	new multistorey residence	All rooms are being used	Overhead electric wires should be hidden underground. Paving of lane should be more coordinated so that repeating construction and uneven surface can be avoided.	Improve and increase green space to enhance the living atmosphere in Qinglong Xiang.	Preserve harmonious relationship by preventing developer construction in the lane. should give more time for residents to self-renovate their own houses rather than forcing new regulations upon them (say a 10 years transition period).
16	new multistorey residence	All rooms are being used. 1st floor front part converted into small grocery store.	Insufficient water pressure. have already installed water pump.	Disappointed with No. 70 Feida Apartment because of the noise pollution and garbage it created (said No. 70 was illegally built). Householder is an instructor in Lao Liang University and has no other activities. He thinks that there is a lack of community.	It is too late to preserve traditional courtyard houses in Qinglong Xiang. Should focus on overall development and enhancement of living environment and facilities in the lane.
17	new multistorey residence	All rooms are being used	Satisfactory.	Overhead electric wires are too chaotic.	Many traditional courtyard houses are dilapidated and require restoration. Exterior restoration can refer to the Wu-Yi Garden opposite to the East Lake Market, which combines western and Chinese styles.
18	new multistorey residence	All rooms are being used except level 5	Satisfactory. Water pipes in the building have large diameter, therefore water pressure is sufficient.	Satisfactory.	Support preservation project.
19	new multistorey residence	3rd storey used only for storage.	Same as above	Same as above	Same as above
20	new multistorey residence	Home-base factory at the back of the building. There are a total of 6 rooms, but only 4 have been used right now.	Satisfactory, except insufficient water pressure.	More public facilities for elderly and children, and more greenery are required. Should also put chaotic overhead electric wires in order. Road width not consistent and should be improved.	Support preservation project and restoration of traditional courtyard houses if funded by government. Should government requires modern multi-storey buildings to be renovated, no building or storeys should be demolished.
21	new multistorey residence	All rooms are being used	Satisfactory except insufficient water pressure. Have already installed water storage tank.	Living conditions is already a lot better than before. Should put chaotic overhead electric wires in order. Should not allow large vehicles from entering Qinglong Xiang.	Support preservation project.
22	new multistorey residence	All rooms are being used	Satisfactory.	Satisfactory. Garbage pollution in No. 70 is serious and affect immediate surrounding environment of No. 70. Householder now joins the Lao Ling University.	Support preservation project.

APPENDIX III: RETAIL SURVEY RESULTS – Table 1: Retailers in Jubao Jie

Kind of shop	Rent or own	Rent (RMB/ month)	Comments
pet store	R	600	just moved in a month ago; business is good; has heard about plans to renovate JBJ; optimistic about future, renovations will help business
rice shop	O	-	landlord of VCD shop across road; live next door; long-term residents; business is bad; doesn't understand why we are doing a project in QLX; JBJ is much more historic; old woman was a teacher- thinks everything is broken down- it should all be torn down and redeveloped; redeveloped parts of the city are prosperous; JBJ is cheapest retail street in Quanzhou; complained that people in QLX are richer than on JBJ
VCD shop	R	600	business is bad; thought we were from government, wants facelift to improve business but afraid will be kicked out; told us rents on ZSL are in the thousands
xiaomaibu	O	-	no business, no people since new bridge bypassed this area; no-one out after 8pm
housewares	R	n/a	would not talk
housewares	O	-	his father ran this shop before him; 70 years (except when shut down during the Cultural Revolution); sons are professionals, don't want to run the shop; business is bad, area not lively
contractor (doors, windows)	R	500	business is bad
motorcycle repair	R	4-500	business is ok
small supermarket	O	-	been there 60+ years; building built in 1967. not renovated; business ok; said the government offices across street are now a clothing factory
propane repair	O	-	rents out half of shop; spoke with owner at VCD & rice shop; told us business is bad because of new bridge and because the wharves have closed- he remembers people from Zhejiang coming to trade when he was a child ('50s?); rents were 350-450
corner restaurant/ *xiaomaibu*	O	-	business is bad
buns	O	-	
dumpling factory	R		boss not there, no info
book rental	O	-	plucking chickens out front- some kind of supplementary business
housewares	O	-	business is bad
clothing	O	-	business is alright
beauty salon	R	700	
hardware	O	-	
building materials	R	n/a	business is bad
jewelry	O	-	shop belongs to relatives; been there 20 years
cigarette			asleep
sinks	R	4-500	business bad
steamed buns	R	4-500	been here 7-8 years; business good until last year
bicycle repair	R	2-300	
stationery	O	-	she's an employee; no customers; lives near-by
cigarettes	R	3-400	open 1 year; business bad; from Fuzhou
medicine	R	1000	large shop; business so-so
clinic			
building material	R	n/a	won't talk; makes traditional building materials (red tiles etc.)
clothing	R	n/a	leaving shortly; owner wants shop back to open a clinic; has heard that JBJ will be renovated and thinks that business will pick up; business used to be very good there, but dropped off in last few years; doesn't know if she will open a shop elsewhere
stationery	O	-	

APPENDIX III: RETAIL SURVEY RESULTS – Table 1: Retailers in Jubao Jie

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VCD shop	R	600	business is bad; thought we were from government, wants facelift to improve business but afraid will be kicked out; told us rents on ZSL are in the thousands
xiaomaibu	O	-	no business, no people since new bridge bypassed this area; no-one out after 8pm
housewares	R	n/a	would not talk
housewares	O	-	his father ran this shop before him; 70 years (except when shut down during the Cultural Revolution); sons are professionals, don't want to run the shop; business is bad, area not lively
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buns	O	-	
dumpling factory	R		boss not there, no info
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clothing	O	-	business is alright
beauty salon	R	700	
hardware	O	-	
building materials	R	n/a	business is bad
jewelry	O	-	shop belongs to relatives; been there 20 years
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sinks	R	4-500	business bad
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medicine	R	1000	large shop; business so-so
clinic			
building material	R	n/a	won't talk; makes traditional building materials (red tiles etc.)
clothing	R	n/a	leaving shortly; owner wants shop back to open a clinic; has heard that JBJ will be renovated and thinks that business will pick up; business used to be very good there, but dropped off in last few years; doesn't know if she will open a shop elsewhere
stationery	O	-	

QLX = Qinglong Xiang JBJ = Jubao Jie ZSL = Zhongshan Lu *xiaomaibu* = corner store

APPENDIX III: RETAIL SURVEY RESULTS – Table 2: Retailers in Zhongshan Nan Lu

Kind of Shop	Rent (RMB/ month)	Years in this location	Comments
CM (steel bars)	N.S. several thousand		little info about the shop in particular. had a customer from Fuzhou there. said business is poor in area because of the new bridge. development is to the east in Quanzhou. Old customers still come, but new ones don't know about this area. Most of the shops here have been here for many years, some have gone bankrupt, no new ones opening up (not strictly true)
CM	1500	11	had shop next door but had to give up because rent too expensive (1000/month) with downturn in business. Rent for current shop has risen from 1300 to 1500 in spite of economic downturn and lack of demand (because government does not take market into account). Transportation in this area is bad- one -way street, limited access to tricycles, trucks only allowed in after 9pm. Said trucks from surrounding counties not allowed into city anymore (is this true, or is informant confusing this regulation with the new bridge being built?) and that this is the worst government regulation in place.
fabric	-	3	Originally on Tumen Jie, until that street was redeveloped. Fabric for school bags, raincoats etc. Business not as good as before (*dan*-lighter) but boss still has many old customers and materials are superior, so they're still doing quite well.
H.G.	NS. said smaller stores went for about 1000	10	large store. business ok. lots of customers from outside Quanzhou- he has better selection than in Shishi, Tong'an, Putian etc. Had shop on Tumen Jie before. business better here because access better- Tumen was too crowded before road widened, and in middle of city. Likes the bridge (!)- transportation better.
Seed store	-	recent	just moved fom Xinmen Jie because being torn down (?). sells to peasants.
H.G.	2000	recent	moved from another location on ZSL. moved here because close to wholesale market, but hasn't helped business much. not very good in either location
H.G.	1500	moving in	has a smaller shop on Yiquan Lu. opening a branch here because heard plans to restore ZSNL, so thinks business will be good. also, rent is cheap- if he wanted to open the same size shop on YQL it would cost 10,000. Been in business many years, v. successful. transportation is good here too.
XMB/fruit stand	rent	c. 10	business ok
CM (steel bars)	1-3000	-	business downhill recently; doesn't know why- maybe because Chinese economy bad, Quanzhou economy bad. contemptuous of preservation project. "can't eat history"
hotel	?	1 month	Linjiang Binguan; all guests are from the mainland, both business and tourists
fridge parts	-	recent	his mother is Li Juren (head of the Neighbourhood Committee). business not so good, transportation problems, one way street is a problem for access
motorcycle repair	-	4-5 years	business not so good. development in east, bridge etc. v. supportive of the protection project. boss from Jubao Jie. had house across from church, torn down in 1994. v. lamented- beautiful house, Qing dynasty. His grandfather ran many companies (one of which was a traditional carving company, I think?), and either he or his father was an official.
residence	-	-	a sign out front advertising some kind of medicine, an old family recipe
bicycle repair shop	100	20 years	this business in present location for 20 years, a couple of doors up for 10 years before that. rent has gone up, used to be RMB 6-7. business has been gong downhill. not so many bicycles anymore. Fewer sanlunche (tricycle rickshaws)

CM: construction materials N.S.= not specified XMB-xiaomaibu, corner store
H.G.= household goods, but mostly of the electric variety, e.g. fans, rice cookers, dish disinfectors, etc.

Kind of Shop	Rent (RMB/ month)	Years in this location	Comments
			has impacted his business especially.
mats	owned	-	here since 1950's. business doing well. some years stronger, some lighter, but old customers always see them through. This area is not poor. Quanzhou does not have heavy industry because of its proximity to Taiwan, but because of that people have relied on themselves to build up their own small businesses. Many people on ZSL just live off of rents. Why open a store yourself if you can make enough money off of rent? Supports the preservation project strongly- terrible what happened to Houcheng. Pointed out Suzhou as a good example of a city that has conserved its character and prospered in China.
H.G.	-	recent	Informant reluctant to give specific information. says been in business a long time in different (unspecified) locations, no particular reason to move to ZSNL. Business not so good, can only cover costs. Kept commenting that one must be able to earn a lot of money in Canada. However, shop is newly renovated, large, well-stocked and several customers were in and out while I was there. Later, it turned out that she is renovating an equally large space across the street for another outlet.
H.G.	-	recent	chain store based in Jinjiang. Hehua Dianqi Baihuo Shanghang. business pretty good. Store very professional, clean, well-organised.
bicycle shop	5000	10 years	2 shops side by side. business going downhill due to increased competition. strictly wholesale. retail shops further north on ZSL and from outside of Quanzhou buy from her.
XMB	a few hundred	recent	just opened as a XMB. was their warehouse before for the last 2-3 years. not sure how business will be yet, but everyone is opening retail shops here now, and the street is changing from a wholesale street so they wanted to try.
industrial chemicals	1000+	5-6 years	business is so-so. They said that individuals not companies buy, but perhaps they meant small scale companies or family-owned factories as opposed to large groups as their products are used in manufacturing. location isn't central enough, but rents are cheaper on ZSNL. They're 3000+ higher up on ZSL and 4-5000 near the bus station. taxes are too high.
East side of street more warehouses or unused space than west side of street			
CM	-	-	boss not there Gangcai Menshi Bu (Iron materials)
wholesale market office			doors locked. map on wall. see below
office	own	-	couldn't figure out what they did, but they also complained about declines in business due to too much competition
hardware	own	5-6 years	business quite good. only store of its kind in this location, no competition. boss not there. workers in uniform. both private and wholesale
bicycle and propane tank repair shop	state-owned	30 years	business declining. prices going down.
CM	rent	2-3 years	moved from Xinmen Jie. more individuals now buying than wholesale. business better on XMJ. won't say how much rent was in either place
print shop	own	July 2000	have another shop on ZSZL which they also own. have heard that ZSNL will be getting a face lift, therefore wanted to open a branch here as they believe the area will prosper. Business in general quite good. Shop well renovated.
CM	own	-	no business at all.

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H.G.= household goods, but mostly of the electric variety, e.g. fans, rice cookers, dish disinfectors, etc.

Kind of Shop	Rent (RMB/ month)	Years in this location	Comments
industrial chemicals	own	many years	business has always been so-so
motorcycle repair shop	-	-	boss not there.
H.G.	state-owned	1953	business worse year by year. too much competition. government does not do enough to control the market
warehouse	1-2000	-	drinks mainly for a specific shop. father of woman who owns shop watching over warehouse. business ok.
clinic	-	-	-
XMB	-	-	on corner in an old bank. only a couple of tables set up with cigarettes and drinks. used to be across the street, but switched with the chemical shop. she said business was bad, but one of the people in her shop said it was good. I think her husband runs the chemical shop across the way. A woman from Xuzhou, Jiangsu was there. She's selling trees from Jiangsu and talked about how good the economy is here, how one cannot even compare the Jiangsu economy.

CM: construction materials N.S.= not specified XMB-xiaomaibu, corner store
H.G.= household goods, but mostly of the electric variety, e.g. fans, rice cookers, dish disinfectors, etc.

APPENDIX IV: FULL TEXT OF DESIGN GUIDELINES

STREET

- Qinglong Xiang is not only an access way, it is also a living space for the residents. As such, it should:
  - support social activity as well as traffic
  - favor pedestrians over cyclists, and cyclists over motor vehicles

STREET PATTERN AND WIDTH

- Qinglong Xiang is an historic lane which forms part of a network of streets that dates from the Song dynasty; its width is determined by housing plots that have been occupied continuously for centuries. As such, it should:
  - be wide enough for emergency vehicles such as police cars, fire trucks, and ambulances, but considering that there are many old lanes in Quanzhou that are frequently narrow like Qinglong Xiang, emergency equipment should be modified to avoid excessive street widening, as this would destroy the historic environment
- The layout of Qing Long Xiang and its branch alleys has special experiential and symbolic features that enhance its quality as a residential place with a strong identity. These should be preserved:
  - the lane turns and jogs such that one cannot see straight through it from any one point, especially from either of the two entrances; this enhances its sense of privacy and quiet even as it is entered directly from bustling Nan Huan Cheng He
  - the lane is known as a "dragon" with its head at Nan Huan Cheng He and its tail at Heng Jie; to preserve this sense of metaphor, the width of Qing Long Xiang from south to north should decrease until it reaches Heng Jie
  - jogs and width changes along the lane create a sense of intimacy and interest, and support a range of social activities
  - small branch alleys between buildings on either side of the lane add to the hierarchy of access and sense of privacy, and their entrances should be highlighted by street furniture, lighting, changes in pavement and other elements

STREET SPACE

- The space of the street in section may be considered as consisting of three zones, moving from the ground up to the sky:
  - earth zone: includes the street paving, gutters, planters, street furniture, and the wall bases, steps and thresholds of the buildings lining the street; elements in the earth zone should be similar in material and colour; heavy materials and large construction units like granite block should predominate
  - middle zone: includes the ground-level facade of buildings (above the wall base), shrubs and small trees; elements in middle zone may be more varied and of finer and lighter construction than in the earth zone; finer stone, brick, wood or stucco should predominate
  - sky zone: includes the visible upper-level facades of buildings, balconies, cornices roofs, tree canopies and overall skyline; elements in sky zone should not be massive or intrusive, or should be set back from the street; they should allow adequate natural light penetration and wind to reach the lane

STREET FURNITURE

- street furniture livens the streetscape and makes the street space habitable. It should:
  - be functional as well as decorative
  - be predominantly of heavy granite block or slabs with unpolished surfaces
  - be located at widened sections of the lane, beneath shade trees, or wherever social activity is concentrated
  - include some water-related elements like stone basins, wells or fountains

STREET LIGHTING

- street lighting serves two functions in a residential lane with little vehicular traffic:
  - assists pedestriansto identify objects and other people in the lane at night; these lights should stand between 3m and 4m high
  - highlights changes in the ground plane such as steps and curbs, or other changes in elevation or edges to pathways; these lights should stand less than 1m high
- chinese lanterns can be used to provide soft lighting
- the number of lightposts should be minimized; light fixtures can be attached to buildings
- lighting need not be even throughout the lane; lighting should be concentrated at intersections, entrances to side alleys, entrances to buildings, and outdoor seating areas

INFRASTRUCTURE

- infrastructure should be hidden underground except for stormwater drainage, which should be isolated from waste water drainage
- stormwater drainageshould be a feature of the street design, and include decorative stone or ceramic drains and granite gutters

ALLEYWAYS

- alleyways serve as passage to other lanes, buildings, and private accessways, and act as fire escape routes and fire breaks. As such:
  - they should be free of obstacles for emergency access
  - balconies and overhangs should not extend into the alley space
  - their entrances may be identified with gate-like roofs or overhangs

PLANTERS

- planters should be of granite block placed either horizontally or vertically
- tiles should not be used as surfacing material on planters
- planters can also serve as benches, especially under shade trees

TREES

- trees should be used to define space and direct views as well as to provide shade from the heat and sun, provide visual screening and privacy, and attenuate airborne sounds
- large trees may be grown along the street only in widened areas; otherwise, they should be planted in large open spaces such as a park, or in private yards.
- paving may go all the way to tree trunk, with configuration of paving and size of pavers adjusted to allow growth of tree

PAVING

- material used in lane paving should be primarily granite slabs
- orientation of stone paving should not run parallel to the flow of traffic as a prevention against bicycle wheels being trapped inside the gaps
- brick should be used sparingly and outside the main flow of traffic
- smooth or polished surface paving should not be used on public streets because it becomes slippery when wet
- patternings on pavement can be used to decorate points of transition, such as entryways to houses or side alleys
- paver size and weight should be standardized to allow easier repair and replacement
- paving may be designed to allow easy access to underground infrastructure

BUILDING FORM

MASSING & SETBACKS

- traditionally, houses use courtyards as the means of bringing in natural light, but modern houses at Qing Long Xiang enclose as much space as possible and rely on the exterior envelope to obtain natural light; if each house is built in the current modern style, then lighting quality will become a serious issue even in multi-story buildings. Therefore, new houses should include setbacks, and should also include courtyards and lightwells where possible
- setbacks should be determined in relation to the width of the street and the height of the surrounding buildings in order to provide enough natural light and ventilation to adjacent lanes and buildings, and to avoid overshadowing of the street
- to retain the intimacy and vernacular face of Qing Long Xiang's neighbourhood, the mass of multistory buildings should be broken down by:
    - employing variation of materials on the facade
    - shifting the vertical and horizontal planes of the face of the building
    - applying visual breaks,

SKYLINE

- the skyline should be low enough to allow for light, ventilation and visual access
- trees should occupy a large proportion of the skyline
- pattern of skyline should also be considered

ROOF

- roofs of new buildings should reference traditional vernacular or colonial style
    - traditional vernacular style roofs consist of
        - curved pitches
        - overhanging eaves with wood brackets
        - high fire walls or gable ends
        - "swallowtail" roof ridges
        - the higher the roof, the longer the roof span

- colonial style roofs consist of
  - straight pitches
  - balustrades
  - cornices and parapets
  - the higher the building, the shorter the roof span
- modern buildings that use flat roofs should employ colonial vernacular elements

BALCONIES, OVERHANGS, PORCHES, PARAPETS AND CORNICES

- balconies should extend neither beyond the property line nor along the side alleys due to potential fire spread
- roofs or overhangs over gates in garden walls may extend beyond the property line
- in large houses, building mass should be reduced on upper stories by using porches or terraces instead of fully-enclosed rooms on the side(s) of the house facing the street
- caging around balconies should not be used
- cornices should be articulated and may extend outward from the face of the building
- each of these features should be of materials and detailing that references traditional or colonial vernacular architecture

EXTERIOR FACADE ELEMENTS

GATES AND ENTRIES

- gates in garden walls should have roofs or overhangs
- traditional entries are recessed and contain fine carvings around the doorways
- materials around entrances should be mainly of granite, though more finely cut and finished than the granite in the street
- granite wall bases next to entries should be higher than elsewhere along the wall
- panels of fine brickwork or carved stone around doorways are encouraged

STEPS AND THRESHOLDS

- steps and thresholds of building entrances are parts of a transitional space between public and private realms. Designs for steps and thresholds should be considered part of the "ground zone" and be of granite or other materials that blend in with the street pavement
- steps and ramps should not be allowed to extend too far into the public lane as they can become obstacles against pedestrians and vehicular traffic; if necessary, steps and ramps can be turned parallel to the building face

DOORS

- doors should be of wood whenever possible; if metal doors are used, they should not be visually dominant
- metal door grilles are acceptable, if not highly reflective and kept free of rust

WINDOWS

- window openings may not occupy more than 1/3 of the entire facade area
- window openings should be vertically oriented or square in shape
- windows should be divided into frames that open outward, casement-style, with overhead transoms; sliding frames should not be used on publicly visible facades
- window glazing should be transparent and colourless
- window frames visible from the public space must be of wood; metal and sliding frames should be used only behind stone, brick or ceramic grilles
- security grilles should be placed on the interior face of the window
- if security grilles are placed at the exterior face of the window, they should be placed such that they are invisible from the street; caging around windows should not be used

WALL STRUCTURE AND FACING MATERIAL

- Quanzhou is in the the so-called "red brick" region of Fujian; red brick and white granite should form the basic architectural background of Quanzhou's old city.
- Buildings of concrete walls faced with glazed ceramic tiles contrast sharply with Quanzhou's vernacular architectural tradition. Traditionally, public space, including the exterior surface of building walls, is characterized by rough, natural materials; as one moves into increasingly private and interior spaces, architectural materials become increasingly smooth, artificial, finely detailed and easily cleaned. Thus, the public street is built of rough granite, exterior walls of brick or stucco, entryways and courtyards of smoother granite or terracotta floor tile, sitting rooms and bedrooms of wood or glazed ceramic flooring and wood panelled or plaster walls, and kitchens and bathrooms of shiny glazed tile and molded porcelain or stainless steel fixtures.
- Wall facing materials should be considered for the gracefulness with which they age. Glazed ceramic tile may be easily cleaned in the short term, but it becomes indelibly stained over time by rust and discolored water; brick, stone and stucco, on the other hand, do not have to be cleaned at all, and they become more beautiful as they are stained and weathered
- a suitable wall design in Qing Long Xiang should make reference to the following:
    - facing materials in Quanzhou's vernacular architecture use "swallow-tail" red bricks extensively, often with granite stone quoining
    - red bricks and stones are arranged in characteristic patterns called "chu zhuang ru shi" or in other creative patterns (hua zhuang); chu zhuang ru shi should be used only for garden walls and one-story buildings, however
    - other materials that compose a vernacular wall structure are granite at the base (base stone), and brick cornice or wooden eave at the top
    - many existing traditional walls are comprised of a mortar and rubble core, which is sandwiched by brick facing or other decorative facing materials
    - plaster and stucco in earth-toned colour may be used as a facing material, especially in combination with a granite wall base and stone or brick framing around windows, doors and corners, and brick cornices

- Walls that are faced with glazed tiles can be improved by having the tiles replaced with:
  - stucco
  - clay facing brick (plain red or swallowtail pattern)
  - tiles that are less shiny and are similar in shape and color to red brick, with joints that are similar in width to bearing-wall joints
- If large areas of a multi-story wall surface covered by glazed tile are replaced with another material (as above), the new material should not be uniform across the entire facade, but should be varied:
  - corners of the building or window openings can be trimmed with different materials or colors than the main area of the wall
  - floor or sill levels can be articulated by a change in facing material, or by a joint (if the material is stucco)

PLANTINGS & GARDENS

- plantings can be used to mitigate the impact of glazed wall tile or other undesirable elements on facades
  - trellises, window boxes or rooftop planters can hold trailing and vining plants that mask the exterior wall
  - trees can be planted in gardens or in the public space to block views of the wall
- large trees in private gardens must be preserved